

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION

PROCEEDINGS OF MEETINGS

VOL. XIX

NINETEENTH MEETING HELD AT TRIVANDRUM

December 1942



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4. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer, Dewan of Travancore.

AL RECORDS COMMISSION

Nineteenth Session, Trivandrum, the 28th December 1942



Front Row Seated (left to right) :— Dr. G. L. Chopra (Lahore), Mr. H. K. Sherwani (Hyderabad-Dn.), Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari (Annamalainagar), Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya (Mewar), Rajyasevaprovina C. V. Chandrasekharan (Travancore), The Honourable Sirdar Sir Jogendra Singh (President), His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar (Devan), Mr. John Sargent (Chairman, R. & P. Committee), Dr. S. N. Sen (Secretary), Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval (Local Secretary), Mr. D. V. Potdar (Poona), Mr. R. P. Patwardhan (Ahmedabad).
Second Row Standing (left to right) :— Pandit Lingaraj Misra (Orissa), Dr. I. H. Qureshi (Delhi), Mr. P. Acharya (Mayurbhanj), Dr. M. A. Chaghtai (Poona), Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar (Pudukkottai), Dr. K. N. V. Sastri (Mysore), Sardar S. N. Banerji (Patiala), Dr. A. G. Pawar (Kolhapur), Mr. M. Nasiruddin Khan (Hyderabad-Dn.), Dr. Mr. V. K. R. Menon (Cochin), Dr. H. N. Sinha (Nagpur), Mr. S. N. Bhanhatti (Nagpur).
Third Row Standing (left to right) :— Mr. Purna Chandra Rath (Patna), Dr. K. K. Basu (Bhagalpur), Mr. C. V. Joshi (Baroda), Mr. S. N. Dhar (Indore), Mahamahopadhyaya, Pandit Bisheshwar Nath Ren (Jodhpur), Mr. J. C. Taluadar (Agra), Mr. G. H. Khare (Poona).

PART I

PROCEEDINGS OF THE PUBLIC MEETING.

28th December, 1942.

Nineteenth Session.

Council Chamber, Trivandrum.

The Public Meeting of the nineteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission was held in the Council Chamber, Trivandrum, on the 28th December, 1942. The Honourable Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh, Member-in-Charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands and *ex-officio* President of the Commission presided over the meeting.

A list of members corrected upto 31st December, 1942, with indications against the names of such members who attended the session will be found on pages 6-12.

His Highness Sri Padmanabha Dasa Vanchi Pala Sir Rama Varma Kulasekhara Kiritapati Manuey Sultan Maharaja Raja Ramaraja Bahadur Shamsher Jang, G. C. I. E., Maharaja of Travancore arrived at the porch of the Council Chamber at 10-30 A. M. His Highness was received by the President, Dewan, Chairman of the Research and Publication Committee of the Commission, Pro-Vice-Chancellor of the Travancore University and the Secretary of the Commission. The President garlanded His Highness who was introduced by the Secretary to the members of the Commission. The members then followed His Highness to the western wing of the porch and a group photograph was taken there. At 11 A. M. the members led His Highness in procession to the Hall. The President welcomed His Highness and invited him to inaugurate the nineteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

Speech of Sardar Sir Jogendra Singh.

May I express on behalf of the Indian Historical Records Commission and myself our sincere thanks to Your Highness for your kind invitation to meet in these picturesque surroundings and for your warm hospitality. The Commission is indeed privileged to be able to conduct its proceedings under the auspices of Your Highness.

I have taken this long journey attracted by the past and present achievements of Travancore. Its past records speak of the great and wise act of its ruler who returned his kingdom to Him, who gave it, consecrating not only his own life, but laying it down that his successors should act as servants of God. A sovereign fulfils his *Dharma* only when like the sun he sheds his beneficence on all, helping the weak and strong, rich and poor, thus enabling them to live and prosper together. It is good that this tradition still endures in Travancore.

In these days when Parliaments and popular assemblies are broadening the basis of popular control, the ideal of *Dharma Raj* has lost none of its significance. Power of spirit over matter is as paramount to-day as it was yesterday. This distracted world may find peace if its rulers realise their responsibility to God. It has been held that those who have fear of God in their hearts have also the true desire to serve His creation.

Travancore has enriched its records of the past by its achievements of the present. Your University, your College and schools have carried the torch of knowledge to every home. The majority of your men and women enjoy the gift of literacy. You have recognised the need of training the hand as well as the mind. You have realised that in modern times, balanced economy can only be secured by employing modern methods and modern implements of production. You have broken the bonds of superstition, and opened the gates of the temple to all. It is only thus that States can strengthen the foundations of peace and prosperity.

Your Dewan and I, though we have not had many opportunities of coming together, have been on the same road from early years. We both joined the Theosophical Society, when young, to realise the brotherhood of man. We both dreamed of a united India under the inspiring leadership of that great woman, Annie Besant. That dream still abides with us and will abide with us to the end in whatever position we are placed.

I need hardly dwell on the work and functions of the Indian Historical Records Commission, the fascinating pursuit of discovering and preserving precious documents such as time in its flight gathers, garners and leaves behind about great political movements, making and unmaking of empires, deeds and misdeeds of men. Under the unfailing vigilance of Dr. Sen, the Indian Historical Records Commission collects and preserves them for the guidance of future generations.

To-day when we are standing

Between the two worlds,—one dead

The other powerless to be born

—we may ask ourselves what material are we providing for the records of the future. Are we making anything of the sacrifices of our sons, who are covering themselves with glory in the battlefields of the Empire? Are we making anything of our spiritual heritage? Are our Princes fulfilling their *Dharma* by standing apart as uninterested spectators? Is it not their duty to take a share in mobilising to the full the united strength of India to meet the external and internal perils which may at any moment overtake us? What will the people of to-morrow say of our actions and inactions of to-day?

It is true, the Congress and to some extent the Muslim League hold the field, but have not the Princes and the people proved that India is greater than parties by their contributions in men and material and by their silent and steadfast co-operation in the war? From my own experience of the Northern Indian States and from what I



The Hon'ble Sirdar Sir Jogendra Singh.

have heard and known of the States in South India, I can confidently say that the Rulers have an abundant stock of loyalty and helpful co-operation on the part of their subjects on which they can and should draw. What has, however, happened is that each Indian State has been mainly concerned with its own problems and its own affairs and the maintenance of its prestige and privileges. If the States could come together and act in an organised and co-operative manner, they will be able to bring a fresh and useful element into the body politic of the United India of the future. Is it too much to ask that the States should cast aside their traditional aloofness and should work together in war and thereafter in peace so as materially to help in the solution of India's grave problems?

The great Abul Fazal, one of the nine jewels of Akbar's Court, once said, "Let the faithful treasure their faith and the infidels their infidelity, but let the distiller of the essence of roses nurse the heart-ache for others". Let the Congress and the Muslim League follow their ideologies, but let us do what India needs: the needs which His Excellency the Viceroy in his recent speech at Calcutta held aloft, — the maintenance of the integrity of India and attainment of Federation. I feel like asking the Princes to overcome their faint-heartedness, stride forward in union with the people of India and bring Federation into action. Let them declare their purpose to raise the depressed classes, to protect and promote the culture and interests of minorities and to make Federation the true centre of sovereignty, by guaranteeing four freedoms to majorities and minorities alike. Federal constitution has its limitations, shackles which can be cast off in the exercise and full realisation of power.

It is not beyond the power of Princes and representatives of people to bring Federal constitution into action and thus actively work towards the realisation of righteous rule. In this hour of peril, unless Princes and people join hands to maintain the integrity of India by bringing Federation into action, they will jeopardise the future of India and with it their own.

In the great social upheaval, which seems inevitable after the war, it is not by waiting and watching that Princes and people can protect their interests. They can save themselves and India by right action now, enabling India to stand in its own strength like a sharp-pointed rock, amidst swirling maelstrom of social, economic and constitutional changes. Federation in action can redeem the Congress, rescue the League and enable His Majesty's Government to fulfil its pledges by applying the Statute of Westminster to a Federal India, thus translating its declarations into an Act and closing all controversies. I need hardly say that seeds of action sown in the past govern the present and what we sow to-day we shall reap to-morrow.

Sayeth the Sikh Guru :

Fix thy mind on His Lotus feet
 Imbue it in the fragrance of His grace
 Espouse the good cause, never forsake the hand
 Once grasped, even if it costs thee thy head.

Sayeth Guru Tegh Bahadur : Give thy life, but never abandon the path of duty.

Speech delivered by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.

MR. PRESIDENT AND MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS
COMMISSION, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

It is with sincere pleasure that I heard of the decision of the Historical Records Commission to hold their present session in Triyandrum and I extend to you all a most cordial welcome to the capital of my State.

Whilst inaugurating this session and addressing an organisation composed of distinguished workers and public men, it may not be out of place to observe that history may mean either a chronicle of events or the events themselves. History in the wider sense is all that has happened, and recent developments of the doctrine of evolution have induced throughout the world an attitude of mind which may well be described as historical. The historical spirit has thus invaded every field of human activity or thought. History in the former sense originally depended for material on monuments, inscriptions, coins, medals and early chronicles, public and private, religious and secular. From these were evolved histories, strictly so-called, and I assume that your task is to collect and to arrange all available data so as to present a true picture to present and future generations of the march of humanity across the ages. It has been said that the world knows nothing of its greatest men and also that history, at least in its state of ideal perfection, is a compound of poetry and philosophy. Such sayings contain only a measure of truth as well as a measure of fancy. But so long as history is still to be examined and unravelled, such sayings will hold the field.

It is to abate this disability and progressively to eliminate it that this Commission was constituted 23 years ago and I note with interest that you have already held eighteen sessions in almost all the important cities in India, including two in Calcutta and two in Poona. Charged with a task of inestimable value and beginning with a comprehensive plan of work and improving upon it with the experience gained from time to time, you have reconstituted yourselves recently on a representative principle which has justified itself by extending its sphere of activities, by creating a Research and Publication Committee, suggesting a practicable scheme for regional surveys and framing a five-year publication programme for the Imperial Record Department in which all the constituent Governments, States, Universities and learned institutions are to take their legitimate part."

The goal of a united India and the successive political and historical stages which have helped to bring about that unity during the last nearly two hundred years have indeed undeniably indicated the necessity for such work as is laid on this Commission. With the changes in calligraphy brought about by time no less than in the languages politically imposed by successive Rulers, the task has become more and more that of the specialist and the patient research-scholar.



HIS HIGHNESS SRI CHITRA THIRUNAL
SIR BALA RAMA VARMA, G. C. I. E., D. Litt.,
MAHARAJA OF TRAVANCORE

and a sacred duty lies on Governments and Universities to render all reasonable financial and other aid.

The Commission which has shouldered this duty has to cover vast ground not only geographically but also in the wealth and variety of Historical material which lies all over India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. I recognise in your visit to Travancore a testimony to the possibilities which your pursuit of knowledge may unfold and I may assure you that my Government have always endeavoured not to neglect this aspect of a nation's pious duty, and they will be no less ready to profit by the guidance and programme of a scholarly body like yours. "The Historian, the true historian, must not confine himself to the chronicles and annals, the public records, the State papers, the political correspondence of statesmen and ambassadors; he must search into, he must make himself familiar with the lowest, the most ephemeral, the most contemptible of the writings of the day. There is no trash which he must not digest, nothing so dull and wearisome that he must not wade through."

In inaugurating this session, I am therefore pitching my expectations high as to the outcome of labours like yours. But I hope you will be able to get some relaxation along with your stress in this tract which is so remote from your usual venue but to which you have travelled with such ready cheerfulness notwithstanding the inconveniences of a journey at the present time. It is a splendid proof of your zeal for your undertaking.

I now bid you God-speed in your labours and a very pleasant sojourn in Travancore. May I also thank you for having asked me to open this session?

The proceedings of the meeting was broadcast by the Radio Station of Travancore. 14 out of 51 papers were read and discussed.

At the close of the meeting the Secretary moved a vote of thanks to the Dewan, the Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Local Secretary, Local Committee, the Boy Scouts and the Travancore Government for the co-operation to make the Commission a success. Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari seconded the Resolution which was supported by Professor D. V. Potdar.

The members were shown round the historical places and were entertained at Garden and Tea-parties.

In view of the paper-scarcity it has not been possible to print in the Proceedings (1) the comments on papers, (2) Research-reports and (3) A Note on Records and old and rare Publications in Central India—Malwa, by Mr. K. L. Srivastava.

Personnel of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

1. The Honourable Member-in-Charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands, Government of India, New Delhi, *Ex-officio* President.
2. The Educational Adviser to the Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands, New Delhi, *Ex-officio* Chairman of the Research and Publication Committee.
3. The Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, New Delhi, *Ex-officio* Secretary of the Commission, the Research and Publication Committee and the Local Records Subcommittee.

Indian Historical Records Commission.

Ordinary Members.

**Attended the Trirandrium Session.*

Government of India—

1. Lt.-Colonel H. Bullock, I.A., Deputy Judge-Advocate-General, North-Western Circuit, Headquarters, Northern Command, Rawalpindi.
- *2. Professor D. V. Potdar, B.A., Secretary, Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, 77, Shanwar Peth, Poona.
3. Professor Mohammad Habib, B.A. Hons. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Professor of History, Aligarh University, Aligarh.
- *4. Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Head of the Department of History, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
5. Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M.A., Ph. D. (Formerly Vice-Chancellor, Dacca University), 4, Bipin. Pal Road, Calighat, Calcutta.

Provincial Governments—

6. Dr. B. S. Baliga, Ph. D. (Lond.), Curator, Madras Record Office, Madras, Chittoor.
- *7. Mr. R. P. Patwardhan, M.A. (Oxon.), I.E.S., Principal, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad, Bombay.
8. Mr. B. B. Chakrabarti, B.A., B.L., Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal, Calcutta. (Court Building, Berhampore.)
- *9. Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore.

Indian States—

- *10. Mr. M. Nasiruddin Khan, Director of Daftar-e-Diwani and Mal, H. E. H. The Nizam's Government, Hyderabad, Deccan.
- *11. Mr. C. V. Joshi, M.A., Rajdaftardar, State Record Office, Baroda.
12. Sir Manubhai N. Mchta, Kt., C.S.I., Foreign and Political Minister, Gwalior Darbar.

- *13. Rajyasevapravina C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A. (Oxon.), Pro-Vice-Chancellor, University of Travancore, Trivandrum.
- *14. Dewan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, K.B.E., Prime Minister, Mewar State, Udaipur.
- *15. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Sahityacharya, Superintendent, Archæological Department, Jodhpur.
- *16. Mr. P. Acharya, B. Sc., M.R.A.S., F.R.A.I., State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada.
- *17. Sardar S. N. Banerjee, M.A., Professor of History, Mohindra College, Patiala.
- 18. Major K. M. Panikkar, Foreign and Political Minister and Minister for Public Health and Education, Bikaner.
- 19. Rai Bahadur Raj Kanwar, M.A., P.C.S. (Retd.), Chief Minister, Patna State, Bolangir (*via* Sambalpur).
- 20. Mr. V. K. Khadilkar, Chief Revenue Officer, Sangli State, Sangli.
- *21. Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.A., L.T., Headmaster, College High School, and Manual Officer, Pudukkottai.
- *22. Mr. S. M. Dhar, M.A., Professor of History, Holkar College, Indore.

Research and Publication Committee.

- *1. Mr. John Sargent, M.A., C.I.E., Chairman.
- *2. Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph. D., B. Litt. (Oxon.), Secretary.

Associate Members.

Provincial Governments—

- 1. Dr. B. S. Baliga, Ph.D. (Lond.), Curator, Madras Record Office, Madras, Chittoor.
- *2. Mr. R. P. Patwardhan, M.A. (Oxon.), I.E.S., Principal, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.
- 3. Mr. B. B. Chakrabarti, B.A., B.L., Keeper of the Records of the Government of Bengal, Calcutta. (Berhampore, Bengal.)
- *4. Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Lahore.
- 5. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer in History, Allahabad University, Allahabad.
- 6. Dr. K. K. Datta, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D., Professor of History, Patna College, Patna.
- *7. Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, Morris College, Nagpur.
- *8. Pandit Lingaraj Misra, B.O.L., Principal, Sanskrit College, Parlakimedi, Orissa.

Indian States—

- *9. Mr. M. Nasiruddin Khan, Director of Daftar-e-Diwani and Mal, H. E. H. the Nizam's Govt., Hyderabad, Deccan.

- *10. Mr. R. K. Ranadive, M.A., Manager, Huzur Political Office (Retd.), Dandia Bazar, Baroda.
- *11. Mr. P. Acharya, B.Sc., M.R.A.S., F.R.A.I., State Archaeologist, Mayurbhanj State, Baripada.
- *12. Sardar S. N. Banerjee, M.A., Professor of History, Mohindra College, Patiala.
- 13. Mr. V. K. R. Menon, B.A. (Hons.), M.Sc. (Lond.), Private Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin, Cochin.
- *14. Dewan Bahadur Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya, K.B.E., Prime Minister, Mewar State, Udaipur.
- *15. Dr. A. G. Pawar, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law, Professor of History and Economics, Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
- *16. Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Bisheshwarnath Reu, Sahityacharya, Superintendent, Archaeological Department, Jodhpur.
- *17. Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar, B.A., L.T., Headmaster, College High School, and Manual Officer, Pudukkottai.
- *18. Babu Purna Chandra Rath, B.A., D.Ed., Superintendent of Archaeology, Patna State, Bolangir (via Sambalpur).
- 19. Pandit Nagendra Nath Mahapatra, Vidyalankar, Assistant Teacher, High English School, Dhenkanal.
- 20. Mr. B. C. Chakravarty, M.A., Tripura State, Agartala.
- 21. Mr. V. K. Khadilkar, Chief Revenue Officer, Sangli State, Sangli.
- *22. Mr. S. N. Dhar, M.A., Professor of History, Holkar College, Indore.
- *23. Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D. Litt., Professor of History, and Director of Archaeological Researches in Mysore.

Universities—

- *24. Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari, M.A., Head of the Department of History, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
- 25. Reverend Father H. Heras, S.J., M.A., Professor of History, St. Xavier's College, Cruickshank Road, Bombay I.
- 26. Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University, (47-A, Ekdalia Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta).
- 27. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Head of the Department of Political Science, Dacca University, Dacca.
- 28. Dr. Tara Chand, M.A., D.Phil., Principal, Kayastha Pathshala, University College, Allahabad.
- 29. Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, M.A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Head of the Department of History, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
- *30. Mr. J. C. Talukdar, M.A., Professor of History, St. John's College, Agra.
- 31. Mr. S. V. Puntambekar, M.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Professor of History and Political Science, Benares Hindu University, Benares.

32. Mr. Mohammad Habib, B.A. Hons. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.
33. Mr. J. F. Bruce, M.A., Professor of History, University of the Punjab, Lahore.
- *34. Dr. H. N. Sinha, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, Morris College, Nagpur.
- *35. Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Reader in History, University of Delhi. (St. Stephen's College, Delhi.)
- *36. Mr. H. K. Sherwani, M.A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law, Professor of History, Osmania University College, Hyderabad, Deccan.
- *37. Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt., Professor of History, Mysore University, and Director of Archæological Researches.
- *38. Rajyasevapravina C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A. (Oxon.), Pro-Vice-Chancellor, University of Travancore, Trivandrum.

Learned Institutions—

39. Mr. William Coelho, M.A., Assistant Professor of History (Indian Historical Research Institute), St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
- *40. Dr. M. A. Chaghtai, M.A., D.Litt. (Paris), Reader in Mediaeval Indian History, Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, Poona.
41. Mr. D. P. Karmarkar, M.A., LL.B., Pleader (Karnataka Historical Society), Dharwar, Bombay.
- *42. Mr. G. H. Khare, Curator, Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala, 313, Sadashiv Peth, Poona.
- *43. Mr. R. P. Patwardhan, M.A. (Oxon.), I.E.S. (Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay), Principal, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.
44. Khan Bahadur G. A. Dossani (Calcutta Historical Society), 60, Bentinck Street, Calcutta.
45. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, Kt., C.I.E., Hon. D. Litt. (President, Bangiya Sahitya Parishad), P255, Lansdowne Road Extension, Rashbehari Avenue P. O., Calcutta.
46. Mr. C. W. Gurner, C.S.I., I.C.S. (Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal), Chairman, Calcutta Improvement Trust, 5, Clive Street, Calcutta.
47. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, D.Litt. (Assistant Secretary, United Provinces Historical Society), 35, Chatham Lines, Allahabad.
48. Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S., Sharadashram, Yeotmal, Berar.
49. Pandit L. P. Pandeya, Kavyavinod, M.N.S.I. (Mahakoshal Historical Society, Bilaspur), P. O. Chandrapur (via Raigarh).
50. Mr. Y. M. Kale, B.A., LL.B., Advocate (C. P. and Berar Literary Academy), Buldana, Berar.
- *51. Mr. S. N. Banhatti, M.A., LL.B. (C. P. Research Society), Assistant Professor, Morris College, Nagpur.

Local Records Sub-Committee.

- *1. Mr. John Sargent, M.A., C.I.E., Educational Adviser to the Govt. of India, *Ex-officio* Chairman.
2. Captain N. Ramsay, M.B.E., Deputy Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative, Political Department, New Delhi.
3. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.); Deputy Director, Counter Propaganda Directorate Simla.
- *4. Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.), Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, *Ex-officio* Secretary.

Corresponding Members.

(i) Outside India—

1. Sir William Foster, C.I.E., formerly Superintendent of Records, India Office, Mountfield Court, 179, West Heath Road, London, N. W. 3.
2. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., C.I.E., C/o Messrs Thomas Cook and Son Ltd., Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
3. Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A., B.Litt., F.R. Hist. S., Cromwell's House, Woodstock, Oxford.

(ii) In India—

(a) Provinces.

Madras.

4. Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of History and Economics, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram.
5. Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archæology, Madras University, Madras.

Bombay.

6. Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A., P. O. Kamshet, District Poona.
7. Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), D.Phil. (Giessen), Prof. of History, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.

Bengal.

8. Mr. K. Zachariah, M.A. (Oxon.), I.E.S., Principal, Hooghly College, Chinsurah, Bengal.
9. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Head of the Department of Political Science, Dacca University, Dacca.
10. Dr. P. C. Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Lecturer in History, Calcutta University. (125, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta.)
11. Mr. M. L. Roy Chowdhury, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., Sastri, Lecturer in History, Calcutta University. (Baptist Mission, College Square, Calcutta.)

United Provinces.

12. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Lecturer, Department of Indian History, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
13. Dr. Bool Chand, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Political Science, Benares Hindu University, Benares.

Punjab.

14. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hassan, B.A., Curator, Central Museum, Lahore.
15. Lala Sita Ram Kohli, M.A., F. R. Hist. S., Principal, Government Intermediate College, Hoshiarpur.
16. Lala Ram Chand Manchanda, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Lahore.
17. Sardar Ganda Singh, M.A., Lecturer in Sikh History, Khalsa College, Amritsar.
18. Dr. Mohammad Nazim, M.A., Ph.D., Superintendent, Archæological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, Old Fort, Lahore.

Bihar.

19. Dr. Subimal Chandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Principal, Patna College, Patna.
20. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr.
- *21. Dr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.
22. Mr. S. A. Shere, M.A., Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.

Assam.

23. Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), B.L., Special University Officer to the Government of Assam, Shillong.
- *24. Mr. S. C. Goswami, M.A., I.S.O., Inspector of Schools, Assam Valley Circle, Jorhat.

North-West Frontier Province.

25. Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.), Khudadad Road, Peshawar.

Delhi.

26. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Deputy Director, Counter Propaganda Directorate, Simla.

(b) Indian States.

27. Syed Khurshed Ali, Azam Manzil, Red Hills, Hyderabad, Deccan.
28. Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor, the Mysore Economic Journal, Siddicutta, Bangalore.
- *29. Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Superintendent, Intermediate College, Bangalore.
30. Dr. Prakash Chandra, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Lond.), Professor of Civics and Political Science, Victoria College, Gwalior.

Local Records Sub-Committee.

- *1. Mr. John Sargent, M.A., C.I.E., Educational Adviser to the Govt. of India, *Ex-officio* Chairman.
2. Captain N. Ramsay, M.B.E., Deputy Secretary to His Excellency the Crown Representative, Political Department, New Delhi.
3. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Deputy Director, Counter Propaganda Directorate Simla.
- *4. Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt. (Oxon.), Keeper of the Records of the Government of India, *Ex-officio* Secretary.

Corresponding Members.

(i) Outside India—

1. Sir William Foster, C.I.E., formerly Superintendent of Records, India Office, Mountfield Court, 179, West Heath Road, London, N. W. 3.
2. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson, M.A., C.I.E., C/o Messrs Thomas Cook and Son Ltd., Berkeley Street, Piccadilly, London, W. 1.
3. Mr. R. B. Ramsbotham, M.B.E., M.A., B.Litt., F.R. Hist. S., Cromwell's House, Woodstock, Oxford.

(ii) In India —

(a) Provinces.

Madras.

4. Dr. K. R. Subramanian, M.A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of History and Economics, Maharaja's College, Vizianagram.
5. Mr. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, Madras University, Madras.

Bombay.

6. Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, B.A., P. O. Kamshet, District Poona.
7. Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), D.Phil. (Giessen), Prof. of History, Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.

Bengal.

8. Mr. K. Zachariah, M.A. (Oxon.), I.E.S., Principal, Hooghly College, Chinsurah, Bengal.
9. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A., Head of the Department of Political Science, Dacca University, Dacca.
10. Dr. P. C. Gupta, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Lecturer in History, Calcutta University. (125, Rashbehari Avenue, Calcutta.)
11. Mr. M. L. Roy Chowdhury, M.A., B.L., P.R.S., Sastri, Lecturer in History, Calcutta University. (Baptist Mission, College Square, Calcutta.)

United Provinces.

12. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt., Lecturer, Department of Indian History, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
13. Dr. Bool Chand, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of Political Science, Benares Hindu University, Benares.

Punjab.

14. Khan Bahadur Maulvi Zafar Hassan, B.A., Curator, Central Museum, Lahore.
15. Lala Sita Ram Kohli, M.A., F. R. Hist. S., Principal, Government Intermediate College, Hoshiarpur.
16. Lala Ram Chand Manchanda, B.A., LL.B., Advocate, High Court, Lahore.
17. Sardar Ganda Singh, M.A., Lecturer in Sikh History, Khalsa College, Amritsar.
18. Dr. Mohammad Nazim, M.A., Ph.D., Superintendent, Archaeological Survey of India, Frontier Circle, Old Fort, Lahore.

Bihar.

19. Dr. Subimal Chandra Sarkar, M.A., Ph.D., M.R.A.S., Principal, Patna College, Patna.
20. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B.L., Principal, D. J. College, Monghyr.
- *21. Dr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Ph.D., Professor of History, T. N. J. College, Bhagalpur.
22. Mr. S. A. Shere, M.A., Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.

Assam.

23. Rai Bahadur Dr. S. K. Bhuyan, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), B.L., Special University Officer to the Government of Assam, Shillong.
24. Mr. S. C. Goswami, M.A., I.S.O., Inspector of Schools, Assam Valley Circle, Jorhat.

North-West Frontier Province.

25. Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond.), Khudadad Road, Peshawar.

Delhi.

26. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Deputy Director, Counter Propaganda Directorate, Simla.

(b) Indian States.

27. Syed Khurshed Ali, Azam Manzil, Red Hills, Hyderabad, Deccan.
28. Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L., Editor, the Mysore Economic Journal, Siddicutta, Bangalore.
- *29. Dr. K. N. V. Sastri, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), Superintendent, Intermediate College, Bangalore.
30. Dr. Prakash Chandra, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D. (Lond.), Professor of Civics and Political Science, Victoria College, Gwalior.

- *31. Mr. R. V. Paduval, B.A., Director of Archaeology, Travancore State, Trivandrum.
- 32. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M.A. (Formerly Member of the State Council), Saraswati Niketan, Indore State, Indore.
- 33. Srimati Kamalabai Kibe, Indore.

(c) Foreign Possessions in India.

- 34. Mons. Alfred Lehuraux, Chandernagore, Free French India.
(C/o Mrs. R. S. Pitts, 23-E, Canal Road, Dehradun.)
- 35. Cavaliere Panduranga Pissurlencar, Member, Lisbon Academy of Sciences and Curator, Historical Records of Portuguese India, Nova Gon.

Proceedings of the Meeting of the Research and Publication Committee.

Nineteenth Session, 29th December, 1942.

Council Chamber, Trivandrum:

The meeting of the Research and Publication Committee was held on the 29th December 1942 at 11 A. M. in the Council Chamber, Trivandrum. In the absence of Mr. John Sargent M. A., C. I. E., who was indisposed Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya was unanimously voted to the Chair.

A. I. Details of the Five-year Publication Programme.

It will appear from the conspectus that the Government of India have sanctioned the Five-year Publication Programme for the Imperial Record Department including the necessary staff as recommended by the Mysore session of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The following are the essential features of the three sections of the programme :

**TABULAR STATEMENT SHOWING THE DETAILS OF THE
FIVE-YEAR PUBLICATION PROGRAMME.**

SCHEME I.						
Letters from Court.			Letters to Court.		Editing.	Printing.
Year.	Mss Vols.		Year.	Mss Vols.		
1942-43	HOME DEPT. 1755-71	16	1748-54 1755-71	3 18 <hr/> Total 37	Prof. C. S. Srinivasa- chari, Dr. K. K. Datta, Dr. N. K. Sinha, Dr. H. N. Sinha, Prof. D. N. Banerji, Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad.	GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
1943-44	HOME DEPT. 1772-86	20	1772-86	15 Total 35	To be settled later	
1944-45	HOME DEPT. 1787-1800 FOREIGN DEPT. Secret.	11	1787-1800 1764-87	15 10 <hr/> Total 36	Do.	
1945-46	FOREIGN DEPT. Secret 1778-1800 Secret and Separate. 1789 Political 1793-1800 Foreign 1792-1800 MILY. DEPT. 1780-89	2 ... 2 1 6	1790-1800 1789 1789-1800 1784-1800 ...	3 2 14+1 5 <hr/> Total 36	Do.	
1946-47	MILY. DEPT. 1790-1800 LEG. DEPT. 1795-1800 SEPARATE REVENUE 1795-1800 Grand Total	14 1 1 <hr/> 74	1790-1800 1796-1800 1795-1800 Total	14 1 3 <hr/> 34 104	Do. Do.	

**TABULAR STATEMENT SHOWING THE DETAILS OF THE
FIVE-YEAR PUBLICATION PROGRAMME—(Contd.)**

SCHEME II					
	Governor General's Minutes.	Browne's Correspondence.	Thevenot's and Oarreri's Travels.	Editing.	Printing
1942-43	...	1 vol.	...	IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT	GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
1943-44	Sir John Shore Vol. I.	...	...
1944-44	Vol. II	...	...
1945-46	Vol. III	...	...
1946-47	...	...	1 vol.

SCHEME III				
	Documents in Oriental languages.	Selections from records.	Editing.	Printing.
1942-43	Bengali Marathi Persian <i>Akhbars</i>		Imperial Record Dept. Bharata Itihasa, Sham-shodhaka Mandala. Dr. I. H. Qureshi.	Calcutta University. B. I. S. M. Delhi University.
1943-44	Gurmukhi		Prof. Sardar Ganda Singh	Khalsa College, Amritsar
1944-45	Hindi	To be	settled	later
1945-46				
1946-47				

For the publications under schemes I and II the Government of India have approved the title "Selections from the Records and State papers of the Government of India" and for scheme III (a) "Records in Oriental Languages." The most appropriate title for the former would be "Indian Records Series." But this title cannot at present be adopted for publications in India as it is being used for similar publications issued from England. The Government of India are however in correspondence with the Secretary of State for India for making available this title for the Indian programme. Editors for further volumes will be appointed in consultation with the members in due course.

Under scheme II the Browne Correspondence will be ready according to the time table.

As regards scheme III a volume in Bengali has been edited by the General Editor and published by the Calcutta University. A copy is laid on the table. Materials for a volume comprising about 200 Marathi letters have been made over to the Bharata Itihasa Samshodhaka Mandala and the volume is expected to be published during 1943. A volume of Persian *Akhbars* is almost ready for Press. It will be published by the Delhi University and Dr. I. H. Qureshi is engaged in editing it. Material is being collected for a Gurmukhi volume and it will be edited by Prof. Sardar Ganda Singh and published by the Khalsa College, Amritsar. There are about a dozen Sanskrit letters and these will hardly form a volume. The General Editor proposes to publish them in some learned journal. No offer has yet been received for the volume of Hindi Manuscripts. These documents have been collected and any offer will be promptly attended to if and when received. Manuscripts of the Calendar of Persian Correspondence, Volume VIII is lying ready since August last but arrangement for printing could not be made owing to present abnormal conditions.

The publications under schemes I and II will have the following features :—

- (1) Illustration(s) of personage(s) of the period
map(s)
- (2) Preface
- (3) Introduction
- (4) Documents *in extenso*
- (5) Notes
- (6) Glossary
- (7) Index.

In the case of scheme III(a) each volume in Indian languages will have

- (1) Preface (in the language of the document)
- (2) Introduction (ditto)
- (3) Letters *in extenso* (ditto)
- (4) Introduction (in English)
- (5) Calendar of letters (ditto)
- (6) Notes (in the language of the document)
- (7) Glossary (ditto)
- (8) Index (ditto)

For documents in oriental languages other than Indian the preface, introduction and notes will be in English only.

Being called upon the Secretary explained the details of the Five-year Publication Programme.

PROFESSOR J. C. TALUKDAR suggested that the Hindusthani Academy may be approached for the publication of the Hindi volume. The Secretary requested Professor Talukdar to negotiate with the Academy on behalf of the Commission.

RAO BAHADUR C. S. SRINIVASACHARI said that his University would like to undertake the publication of Tamil and Telugu records and the services of Mr. R. Gopalan, Librarian of the Imperial Secretariat Library might be utilised for their transcription.

PROFESSOR H. K. SHERWANI suggested that every volume published under scheme III should be provided with an English index as well. The suggestion was accepted.

After a lengthy discussion the following resolution was passed:—

RESOLUTION I. (a) This Committee approves of the details of the Five-year Publication Programme and recommends that publications under scheme III (a) should have indexes both in English and in the language of the documents and the summaries published should be as full as possible.

(b) This Committee reiterates the Resolution III of the eighteenth session and requests the Government of India to impress upon the Provincial Governments, Indian States and Universities the need of co-operating with the Imperial Record Department with a view to ensuring the success of the scheme.

(c) This Committee further recommends that the Government of India be moved to grant the travelling allowances to the editors selected for the first six volumes under scheme I of the Programme.

2. Facilities for Research among Original Documents.

For some years past the Indian Historical Records Commission has been demanding for *bona fide* research students greater access to official records and the removal of such restrictions as might have proved unnecessarily onerous. All pre-mutiny and a large mass of post-mutiny records of the Government of India have accordingly been thrown open. The Commission is naturally anxious to have more information about the conditions prevailing in the record offices of the provinces and Indian States and to ascertain whether the existing rules fulfil the above aims and objects. In order to get an exact idea questions noted below may be circulated with a request for expeditious answers:

QUESTIONNAIRE.

(1) Is there a Central Record Office in the province/state? If not, when is it proposed to establish one?

(2) Is the Record Office placed under the charge of a whole-time qualified Keeper of Record? If not, when is it proposed to do so?

(3) Are there any rules governing access to the records for *bona fide* research purposes? If not, when is it proposed to frame such rules?

(4) What records are in the custody of the Record Office and for what periods?

(5) Up to what period have the records been thrown open for *bona fide* research?

(6) Is there a handbook or a guide to the records? If not, when is it proposed to compile one?

(7) What is the average number of research scholars who visit the record office annually?

(8) Has indexing of records on the lines recommended by the Commission been undertaken? If not, how is it proposed to facilitate research work?

(9) What publications based on the records have been issued by the Provincial Government? If none, when is it proposed to take up a publication programme?

(10) Are the records weeded? If so, what records have been weeded before?

(11) Is there a good reference library attached to the research room of the Record Office?

(12) Is an annual report of the work of the Record Office submitted to the Commission?

(13) Are the old district records kept in the district offices or at the headquarters of the province?

(14) Are the old district records open for *bona fide* research? If so, are there any rules governing access to these records, and up to what period are these records open for research?

(15) What facilities are given for research from the district records?

(16) Does the Provincial Record Office take over to its custody the old records belonging to the High Court and Small Causes Court?

(17) Are the records belonging to the Courts mentioned in question No. 16 weeded periodically? If so, what rules are followed for weeding these records? If there be no rules, does the Provincial Government think it desirable to consult the Indian State Government before framing any such rules?

(18) Does the Provincial Government extend its patronage to any learned society of the province possessing valuable manuscript records? If so, is there any condition attending the patronage that research facilities should be given by the society?

(19) Does the Provincial Government think that the Indian State Government Historical Records Commission can be of any service to it in connection with any of the points mentioned above?

THE SECRETARY formally moved the following resolution which was carried :—

RESOLUTION II. This Committee recommends that the question naire be circulated to the Provincial and States Governments.

3. Proposal by Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe.

Plan for Publication : Journals for the publication of the original records and the results following from them, with comments, should be started, both at the centre, and later in regions, when such material may accumulate. Already existing publications all over the country, including the Indian States, whether conducted by Universities, Societies or individuals should be given grants in aid, from the funds to be placed at the disposal of the Indian Historical Commission by Governments and others. The entire publication should be editorially supervised by the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission.

In the absence of Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe the resolution standing in his name was not moved.

B. Regional Survey Committees.

THE SECRETARY suggested that all the resolutions relating to the Regional Survey Committees should be taken together. After a lengthy discussion in which Dr. G. L. Chopra, Mr. S. N. Banhatti, Professor C. S. Srinivasachari, Professor J. C. Talukdar, Professor D. V. Potdar and Professor H. K. Sherwani participated it was decided to dispose of each resolution on its merit.

Suggestions were invited from Members of the Commission for the guidance of the local committees and the appointing authorities. Those received so far are noted below for the consideration of the Research and Publication Committee :—

1 Resolution by Dr. B. S. Baliga.

This Committee resolves

(1) that the local committees for conducting regional surveys do advertise in the local Gazettes and newspapers and send circular letters to individuals or institutions with a view to ascertaining whether there are any private collections of historical interest which have not hitherto been brought to light ; (2) that the collections, when unearthed, be scrutinised with the aid of a legalist to make sure that they can be thrown open for research without compromising the interests of the owners ; (3) that the Committees do persuade the owners of collections, wherever possible, to take upon themselves the duty of preserving the collections and allowing scholars to have access to them ; (4) that, where the owners are unwilling to or incapable of discharging these duties, the collections be entrusted to the custody of responsible private bodies like the Universities, public libraries and other learned institutions ; (5) that, as an encouragement to the owners who throw open their collections for research, honourable mention be made of their names in the local gazettes, the annual proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission or similar publications ; (6) that the Committees, with the help of local enthusiasts, do, in the first instance, arrange for the preparation and publication of lists or catalogues of the collections and make available for research ; and (7) that the local committees do place before the Research and Publication Committee, every

year, a *résumé* of their activities during the year and seek the advice of the Research and Publication Committee, for solving practical difficulties, if any.

In the absence of Dr. B. S. Baliga, the resolution tabled by him was not moved.

2. Resolutions by Dr. G. L. Chopra.

(1) This Commission approve of the programme outlined by the Punjab Regional Committee for the survey of Historical Records and recommend that the Punjab Government accord all possible facilities to the Committee to expedite the survey of objects of historical interest in the Province.

(2) This Commission recommend that work on similar lines be undertaken in other provinces and Indian States.

Explanatory Note :— The Committee was set up in April 1942.

The Committee have decided to examine the existing materials in Government offices in the Mofussil which are being badly neglected. Some of the District offices in the Punjab have already transferred their older records to the Punjab Record Office but their bulk does not exceed a few bundles. Ludhianna, Karnal, Ambala, Ferozepore and Simla were the seats of important political agencies in the early nineteenth century and a close scrutiny of the District records there is sure to bring out interesting new materials about the history of the Cis-Sutlej and the Simla Hill States.

In order to co-ordinate the search for official as well as for non-official papers in the Punjab, the Committee propose to divide the province into four zones, *viz.*, the South-Eastern (the Ambala and Jullundur Divisions), the Central (Lahore Division), the North-Western (Rawalpindi Division) and the South-Western (Multan Division).

PROFESSOR TALUKDAR enquired about the number of manuscript records so far discovered by the Committee appointed by the Punjab Government.

Dr. CHOPRA replied that only the preliminary steps have been taken and some propaganda made and he expected very good results.

After a lengthy discussion about the Punjab Government's non-compliance with Resolution V(b) of the Mysore Session the following resolution was passed :—

RESOLUTION III. This Committee notes the action taken by the Punjab Government and trust that facilities will be provided to expedite the survey of objects of historical interest in the Province.

Dr. Chopra did not move his second resolution.

3. Proposals by Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar.

1. 1. To implement Resolution V of the Eighteenth Session, so far as it relates to the Madras Presidency and the adjacent States, the Madras Government and the Governments of Mysore and of the Madras States may be requested to form local committees. The following suggestions may be communicated for their consideration :—

(a) There may be four committees for the Madras Presidency—one for each of the linguistic areas—Tamil, Telugu, Kerala and Kanarese.

(b) There may be a committee for each of the States—Mysore, Travancore, Cochin and Pudukkottai.

(c) As suggested in the Resolution the members of the Commission will be the original members of these committees. If there are more than one member in any particular area, one of them will be the Convener or Secretary of the committee working in that area.

2. A member of the Commission may serve on more than one committee. (A member from Travancore, for instance, may serve both on the Travancore Committee and on that for the Kerala area.)

3. In co-opting members, preference may be given to (a) controlling officers of the Ecclesiastical, Devasthanam or muzrai départements; (b) officers in charge of important record offices; (c) Curators or Superintendents of Museums; (d) Professors of Universities or Colleges engaged in research work in Indian History, local languages or Persian and Arabic; and (e) Bishops or priests attached to important cathedrals—not belonging to the Established Church of England.

*Explanatory Note for 3 (e) :—*The records of the Church of San Thome at Mylapore or of the archives of the Bishop of Tranquebar may throw additional light on the history of the early Portuguese, Dutch or Danish settlements in South India.

4. Each of the local committees may meet before the end of February 1943 and chalk out a programme of work.

II. The Father Superior of the Society of Jesus at Trichinopoly and the authorities of the St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, be requested to complete the translation and publication of the old Madura Mission letters.

*Explanatory Note :—*Bertrand's *Mission du Madure* and the instalments of translations of the Mission letters made by the Professors of the St. Joseph's College, Trichinopoly, do not exhaust the collection which is a veritable mine of useful and reliable information on the history of South India for nearly three centuries.

After some discussions the following resolution was passed :—

RESOLUTION IV. This Committee recommends that when the Regional Committee is appointed by the Government of Madras the controlling officers of the Ecclesiastical, Devasthanam or muzrai départements and Bishops or priests attached to important cathedrals not belonging to the Established Church of England should be included in its personnel.

Mr. K. R. VENKATARAMA AIYAR withdrew the other resolution tabled by him.

4 Resolution by Dr. Bool Chand.

The Committee recommends that the Government of India be pleased to place at the disposal of each regional committee for the survey of historical records a certain amount of money for

(a) the search of records in private custody in that region,

(b) the purchase of such records, wherever possible and advisable, or for securing copies thereof.

In the absence of Dr. Bool Chand the resolution tabled by him was not moved.

5. Proposal by Prof. M. L. Roy Chowdhuri.

The purpose of the Committee shall be (1) to conduct regional survey with a view to bringing to light records in private custody (2) To instruct the owners and custodians of important historical records as to the modern scientific methods of preservation and help them by practical demonstrations where required. (3) To organise a triennial session of the Provincial Records Commission in the light of Indian Historical Records Commission and to have the proceedings published in the Bihar and Orissa Research Society Journal, or as separate proceedings.

In the absence of Prof. M.L. Roy Chowdhuri the resolution tabled by him was not moved.

6. Proposal by Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe.

If there are only a few members, fitting in those of the Indian Historical Records Commission, the former should be allowed to co-opt local members, who should be given the same status *vis à vis* the commission as themselves, as will stimulate the latter to take up their work. A grant should be placed at the disposal of these committees, from the funds to be placed at the disposal of the Commission and by calling donations from the regions. Even the owners, some keepers of records, State or private, would come forward to assist by way of funds. When such records are collected, they in original, if available, or at least, their copies, photographic ones of important documents are preferable, should be lodged in any provincial museum or in a research society's building, if one exists, otherwise in the Imperial Record Department. Scholars are at present engaged in sifting even old books of accounts of families. They should also be encouraged.

In the absence of Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe the resolution tabled by him was not moved.

7. Proposal by Prof. H. K. Sherwani.

Wherever there are local offices, committees should be formed consisting mainly of (1) The Director of Records, (2) The Secretary to the Government, preferably of the Department of Education, (3) Secretary to the Government in charge of the Record Office, (4) The Heads of the Departments of History (or Indian History) of the various major colleges and of the local University, and (5) The Director of the Archaeological Department, if any.

2. These Committees should be in their essence advisory, but as the Director of Records would be an Ex-officio member, he would be free to ventilate his views before the Committee, their decision should be given the fullest consideration possible.

3. There should be a systematic connection between these committees and the Imperial Record Department and wherever possible the Imperial Record Department should be furnished not only with the Annual Report of these Committees but also with the Minutes of their meetings.

4. It should be within the province of the Record Office to collect as many original papers of historical value as are found locally possible, and wherever such records are not available in original the Record Department should get either photostats or get faithful copies.

5. The Record Department should be a repository of all original research work done on local history by research workers either within the Province or State or outside and it would be a good idea if works of this nature published within the Province or State should automatically find a place in the Department.

PROFESSOR SHERWANI withdrew the resolution.

8. Proposal by Mr. Lingaraj Misra.

That the Government of Orissa may be requested to appoint a local committee at Cuttack with the following brief plans for the function of regional survey of records in the Province of Orissa.

(a) That a paid history graduate may be appointed as the Secretary of the central record office, if created, who should also act as the Secretary of the local committee. A central record office if and when created, may be situated at the present Provincial Museum building in Ravenshaw College temporarily. The pay and travelling allowance of the Secretary may be regulated by the Government.

(b) This local or provincial committee at Cuttack should be formed with the Director of Public Instruction, Orissa, the Principal, Ravenshaw College and the associate member of the Indian Historical Records Commission as its personnel. Honorary workers from among influential persons of each district should be co-opted. The Provincial Government should empower this committee to have access to all Government offices including Revenue and Judicial Departments for examining historical records and collecting them for the central record office. As regards those in private custody the methods should be persuasive but the committee should issue circular letters to all interested persons and adopt various ways and means to secure co-operation.

(c) The Secretary of the committee should consider the desirability of publishing documents of historical interests. This committee should also find out ways and means to procure such documents relating to Orissa through Central Government or the Indian Historical Records Commission as are lying in Bengal, Madras or Bihar.

(d) Such committees should also be created in all districts of the Province.

Secretary's Note :—No information has yet been received from the Government of Orissa as to whether they propose to establish a central record office in their province. Co-option of members in the sub-committees may best be left to the discretion of the local committees.

Mr. LINGARAJ MISRA withdrew his resolution as the Orissa Government had agreed to consider this question after the war.

9. Proposal by Mr. P. C. Rath

The area in which this State is now included was known to the ancients as Dakshin Kosala, prior to the advent of the Chauhans in this tract. At that time the States of Patna, Sonpur, Bamra, Kalahandi,

Gangpur; and the British Districts of Sambalpur, Raipur and part of Bilaspur were under one administrative control. Therefore the area comprising these States and contiguous parts of the Districts should form one unit for the purpose of regional survey.

After some discussions the following resolution was passed :—

RESOLUTION V. This Committee recommends that Mr. P. C. Rath should communicate with the Resident concerned.

10. Proposal by Mr L. P. Pandeya

In the custody of the Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur District, Central Provinces, there are 25 Bastas of documents in Marathi, Hindi, Oriya and Modi scripts. It was decided by the Deputy Commissioner to weed out all these documents but through the interventions of the Mahakoshal Historical Society of Nagpur it has been settled that these documents should be preserved till the Indian Historical Records Commission appointed an expert body to examine them. The Society is not in a position to take over the collection and preserve it on financial reasons, but it seems that there are many valuable historical documents in this collection and this should on no account be destroyed. The Indian Historical Records Commission should take charge of these documents and arrange for publication from them.

In the absence of Mr. L. P. Pandeya the resolution standing in his name was moved by Mr. S. N. Banhatti.

RESOLUTION VI. This Committee requests the Deputy Commissioner, Bilaspur, not to destroy the records in question before they have been examined by the Mahakoshal Research Society.

11. Resolution by Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari.

Resolved that the Regional Survey Committees in addition to their usual activities should during the pendency of war explore ways and means to prevent the unwarranted destruction of papers of historical importance in the process of paper salvage. The Provincial Governments, and the Governments of Indian States may be requested to afford all facilities in the work of the Committees.

Explanatory Note :— The recent drive for paper salvage in response to the appeal for waste paper to be repulped has resulted in a wanton and in many places unknowing destruction of valuable documents in the possession of private persons, temples, mutts, and lawyers' offices which would provide material for a more vivid and detailed history of India than has ever been possible. In Madras Presidency the prevailing price of waste paper ranges from 12 annas to 1 Re. and more per ordinary Madras viss and a large quantity of documents stored is being brought out for sale from private possessions. In Britain the British Record Association functioning under the presidency of the Master of Rolls has been acting as a kind of Clearing House receiving reports of documents discovered by its experts throughout the country. A similar system may be adopted in India with much advantage and the Regional Survey Committees in all the Provinces and Indian States may function during the pendency of war to take measures to prevent such unwarranted and wasteful destruction of records. The Committees should issue appeals through the Press and Radio and Public meetings and impress upon the public not to

sell old papers in their possessions without consulting the Regional Local Committees. The Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission should be empowered by the Government of India to extend whatever help may be required by these Committees. The local administration should be requested to co-operate with these Committees and to afford all facilities required to launch a successful campaign against the unwarranted loss of national property such as these papers are.

Secretary's Note :—The services of the Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission will always be available to all the Regional Survey Committees for whatever purpose they may be required.

After some discussion the following resolution was passed :—

RESOLUTION VII. This Committee recommends that the Regional Survey Committees in addition to their usual activities should during the pendency of war explore ways and means to prevent the unwarranted destruction of papers of historical importance in the process of paper salvage. The Provincial Governments and the Governments of Indian States may be requested to afford all facilities in the work of the Committees.

The proceedings were concluded with a vote of thanks to the Chair and the Secretary.

Proceedings of the Meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission:

Nineteenth Session, Members' Meeting, 29th December 1942.

Council Chamber; Trivandrum.

The Indian Historical Records Commission met at 2-30 P.M. under the chairmanship of Sir T. Vijayaraghavacharya at the Council Chamber.

1. **The Chairman** read a letter from Mr. John Sargent, M.A., C.I.E. regarding the indebtedness of the Commission to the Travancore Government for their kind hospitality and gratuitous help in printing and supply of paper and also regarding Dr. S. N. Sen's appointment as the Honorary Professor of History of the University of Delhi.

THE CHAIRMAN moved the following resolution which was carried by acclamation :—

RESOLUTION I. This Commission conveys its grateful thanks to Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar for the great assistance which he has rendered to the Commission at a time of acute paper shortage.

Another resolution was moved from the Chair congratulating Dr. S. N. Sen, Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission on his appointment as the first Honorary Professor of History at the University of Delhi and carried by acclamation.

RESOLUTION II. This Commission congratulates Dr. S. N. Sen, Secretary, Indian Historical Records Commission on his appointment as the first Honorary Professor of History and the Head of the Department of History of the University of Delhi.

THE SECRETARY thanked the Chairman and the members of the Commission for the kindness he had always received from them and hoped that he would continue to enjoy their confidence.

2. **Secretary:** It is a matter of great satisfaction to every one of us that we have no condolence resolution to move this year. On the other hand we have to offer our congratulations to three of our colleagues who have been honoured by the Government of India since we met last year. The covetable title of Mahamahopadhyaya was conferred on Pt. Bisheshwarnath Ren and that of Rao Bahadur on Professor C. S. Srinivasachari and Bai Bahadur on Lala Raj Kanwar. I hope higher honours are awaiting them.

3. Recommendations of the Research and Publication Committee.

THE SECRETARY then formally presented the recommendations (Resolutions I-VII) of the Research and Publication Committee for the approval of the Commission.

RESOLUTION III. This Commission approves the recommendations of the Research and Publication Committee.

4. **Review of the action taken on the Resolutions of the Commission passed at the Eighteenth Session held at Mysore in January, 1942.**

(Please see conspectus)

The printed conspectus supplemented by the cyclostyled copies of replies received later were placed before the members of the Commission.

5. Publication of a "Consolidated Guide to the Records in India".

" A Manual of Rules regulating access to Archives in India and Europe " was issued by the Imperial Record Department in pursuance of a resolution passed at the sixteenth session of the Indian Historical Records Commission and it was distributed widely. Most of the Provincial Governments and some of the Indian States co-operated in this scheme. Although many Provincial Governments and Indian States have not yet been able to establish a Central Record Office yet all of them possess highly valuable historical records and the surest way to make the necessary information about such state papers available for *bona fide* research purposes would be to compile in one volume a consolidated guide book for all the official archives in India. It is for the consideration of the members if the book should not be prepared on the lines of Foster's Guide. It may not be possible to bring out the volume during the war but if the Provincial and the States Governments agree to co-operate with the Government of India in implementing the scheme a start may be made even before peace is restored.

The following resolution was passed :—

RESOLUTION IV. This Commission strongly feels the need of a "Consolidated Guide to the Archives in India" and recommends that the Provincial Governments and Indian States be requested to co-operate with the Imperial Record Department in the preparation of a complete and up-to-date handbook of Indian Archives.

6. Resolutions by Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

(a) That the programme of publication adopted at the last Annual Meeting and the scheme for the publication of a Journal, be not suspended on account of the exigencies created by the war.

Secretary's Note :—While sanctioning the Five-year Publication Programme the Government of India stated that the details of the printing work should be submitted to them in October 1942 but as the sanction came at the end of June 1942 sufficient material could not be made ready for submission to them. Decision of the Government of India regarding the publication of the Journal has also not yet been received.

In the absence of Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Dr. K. N. V. Sastri moved the resolution. It was, he said, in the interest of the teachers of history that the resolution should be passed.

The following resolution was then passed :—

RESOLUTION V. This Commission recommends that the programme of publication adopted at the last Annual Meeting and the scheme for the publication of a Journal, be not suspended on account of the exigencies created by the war.

(b) This Commission recommend to the Government that arrangements be made for periodical inspection of the Government of India Records as well as those of the Crown Representative in the Provincial custody, by the Keeper of the Imperial Records, and that the Report of the Inspection be circulated to the members of the Commission.

Explanatory Note :—There are in the custody of many Provincial Governments masses of historical documents belonging to the Government of India as well as to the Crown Representative. These records are of immense historical value and should be maintained at least in the manner in which the Imperial Records at Delhi are preserved. But information is not readily available as to the state of their preservation, nor is it known whether they are available for purposes of research. The Keeper of Imperial Records who is the official custodian of the records of the Government of India as well as of the Crown Representative may with advantage be deputed as their official Agent from time to time to the various repositories in the provinces with a view to ascertaining the actual conditions prevailing in those centres and the results of his investigations should be made known to the Government of India, the Crown Representative as well as the Indian Historical Records Commission.

RAO BAHADUR C. S. SRINIVASACHARI moved the resolution standing in the name of Dr. R. C. Majumdar regarding periodical inspection of Government of India records.

The following resolution was carried :—

RESOLUTION VI. This Commission recommends to the Government that arrangements be made for periodical inspection of the Government of India records as well as those of the Crown Representative in the Provincial custody, by the Keeper of the Imperial Records and that the Report of the Inspection be circulated to the members of the Commission.

7. Resolution by Professor C. S. Srinivasachari.

Resolved that it be recommended to the Government of India that Section 5 of Act No. III of 1879, Government of India Act, to authorise the destruction of useless records—be so amended that all rules made under this Act shall be published in Gazettes etc., after being confirmed by the Local Government or Governments and sanctioned by the Governor-General-in-Council after obtaining the views of the Indian Historical Records Commission in the matter.

Explanatory Note :—The object of the resolution is to recommend an amendment to Act No. III of 1879—Government of India Act—to authorise the destruction of useless records with a view to further the purpose of saving valuable papers which may be useful as sources for the history of the life and doings of the people. The amendment is to the effect that, in addition to the Local Governments and the Governor-General-in-Council, the Indian Historical Records Commission be included as an authority to suggest and confirm all rules made under Section 5 of that Act. The object of inclusion of the Indian Historical Records Commission is to get the advice of an expert body with regard to changes that may be effected in the details of the Act authorizing the destruction of records and determining the categories of records that can be and should be saved in the interests of the preservation of historical knowledge.

PROFESSOR D. V. POTDAR supported Professor Srinivasachari and pointed out the need of passing a similar resolution with respect to the valuable records in the custody of the High Courts.

THE SECRETARY drew the attention of the Commission to the reply received from the Registrar, Calcutta High Court.

CHAIRMAN : We do not know what the rules referred to in the letter are. Let us authorise the Secretary to look into the rules.

THE SECRETARY drew attention to Resolution VIII of the 13th session on this subject.

CHAIRMAN : The first part of the resolution can be passed without inconsistency.

PROFESSOR D. V. POTDAR : We may also collect information regarding the High Court records and if necessary request the authorities to take proper action.

The following resolutions were then passed :—

RESOLUTION VII. This Commission recommends to the Government of India that Section 5 of Act III of 1879, Government of India Act—to authorise the destruction of useless records—be so amended that all rules made under this Act shall be published in the Gazettes etc., after being confirmed by the Local Government or Governments and sanctioned by the Governor-General-in-Council after obtaining the views of the Indian Historical Records Commission in the matter.

RESOLUTION VIII. This Commission authorises the Secretary to obtain the rules from the Calcutta High Court and after scrutinising them with the legal help available from the Government of India may circulate them to the members for opinion.

8. Resolution by Dr. B. S. Baliga.

This Commission request the Government of India to suggest to the Provincial Governments and the Indian States that they should take steps to protect their valuable records against the danger of air-raids either by evacuation of the records to zones of comparative safety or by structural protection and provision of adequate fire-fighting personnel and equipment.

[The *Explanatory Note* has been omitted for obvious reasons.]

THE CHAIRMAN ruled that the measures taken by the Central and the Provincial Governments should not be publicly discussed.

9. Resolution by Mr. B. B. Chakrabarti.

Be it resolved that the Commission request the Universities of Calcutta and Dacca to lend honorary services of some scholars who know the Dutch and Danish languages to examine and report on certain Dutch and Danish records which are in the custody of the Provincial Government.

Be it further resolved that in case the Universities be unable to render any assistance in the matter, the Secretary of the Commission may be requested to report to the Commission the name of any scholar who may be willing to work on these records in an honorary capacity.

In the absence of Mr. Chakravarti the resolution was not moved.

10. Resolutions by Professor H. K. Sherwani.

(a) That in view of the fact that most of the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission are also members of the Indian History Congress, it be so arranged by mutual consultation in future that the meetings of two bodies should be held in the same place and on consecutive dates.

[The *Explanatory Note* has been omitted for paper-scarcity.]

After some discussions the resolution was withdrawn.

(b) That no papers not based on entirely unpublished records should be entertained by the Commission.

PROFESSOR SHERWANI withdrew the resolution.

(c) That Indian Universities be requested to send two copies of published works dealing with any period of Indian History undertaken by the members of the respective teaching staff, to the library of the Indian Historical Records Commission, provided such works are based, at least in part, on unpublished records.

Explanatory Note.—This is a direct corollary of the resolution passed at the meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission that works dealing with Modern Indian History be so presented. I take it that the Indian Historical Records Commission caters for the unpublished records for the whole of Indian History, and I think there will be no objection taken by the Universities to this request.

Secretary's Note.—It may be stated for the information of the members that at the last meeting of the Inter-University Board a resolution was passed recommending all the Universities in India to supply free of cost to the Imperial Record Department two copies each of the publications on Indo-British period issued by them as well as by the scholars and teachers

associated with them. So far Agra, Allahabad, Calcutta, Madras, Mysore, Patna and Travancore Universities have agreed to act upon the resolution and replies from other Universities are awaited. Scholars from various parts of the country visit Imperial Record Department for research work and a good reference library will facilitate their work.

After some discussions the following resolution was passed :—

RESOLUTION IX. This Commission recommends that the Indian Universities be requested to send two copies of published works dealing with any period of Indian History undertaken by the members of the respective teaching staff, to the library of the Imperial Record Department, provided such works are based, at least in part, on unpublished records.

11. Resolution by Mr. K. R. Venkātarama Aiyar.

This Commission recommends to the Government of Madras that they be pleased to issue instructions (a) to the President of Madras Religious Endowment Board and (b) to the Dewans or other administrative officers in charge of principal Zamindaris in the Presidency to take early steps to preserve, classify and index all old records of historical value.

*Explanatory Note :—*The old *inam* grants, *pesh cash* records and correspondence in the archives of the great temples and the important zamin offices contain much that is of value to research scholars. Many valuable documents have either been lost or destroyed ; and steps have to be taken to preserve what may still remain.

*Secretary's Note :—*This will be the function of the Regional Survey Committees when appointed but pending their appointment something should be done for the preservation, classification and indexing of old records in private custody.

After some discussions the following resolution was passed :—

RESOLUTION X. This Commission recommends to the Government of Madras that they be pleased to issue instructions (a) to the President of Madras Religious Endowment Board and (b) to the Dewans or other administrative officers in charge of principal Zamindaris in the Presidency to take early steps to preserve, classify and index all old records of historical value.

12. Resolution by Mr. S. N. Banhatti.

The Commission request the Government of the Central Provinces and Berar to arrange for the examining, sorting, and cataloguing of such of the records in their Secretariat Record Office as may yet be lying unlisted and unlooked after.

*Explanatory Note :—*The Record Office of the C. P. Government is well organised and the records are on the whole well kept. Still there are more than fifty bundles of correspondence, which are not listed and are lying uncared for, in a loose condition. The bundles contain correspondence, very valuable from the historical point of view. Some of them contain records belonging to the pre-mutiny days. These records, if they are allowed to remain in their present condition, will soon succumb to the ravages of time. It is very necessary, therefore, that they should

be examined, arranged, catalogued and kept in a state of proper preservation.

Secretary's Note :—In resolution II of the seventeenth session and VII (a) of the eighteenth session the Government of the C. P. and Berar were requested to re-index their records as the existing indexes were inadequate for research purposes. The Government of the C. P. and Berar however consider that their records have been adequately indexed and that they do not propose to reopen that decision for the duration of the war.

At the suggestion of THE CHAIRMAN the resolution was withdrawn.

13. Resolution by Professor M. L. Roy Chowdhury.

The Indian Historical Records Commission requests the Chief Justices of the High Courts and Chief Courts in India to instruct their Chief Reporters to send two copies of the Paper Books covering title suits prepared under Act XVIII of 1875, to the office of the Indian Historical Records Commission, New Delhi.

In the absence of Mr. Roy Chowdhury the resolution was not moved.

14. Resolution by Pt. Lingaraj Misra.

This Commission recommends that the Government of India request the Government of Orissa —

(a) To establish an organised Record Office at Cuttack for collecting and preserving historical records pertaining specially to the British period of Indian History from Government offices in the Province where they may be available and from private historical families.

(b) To make arrangements for indexing those records and other sources of history now available in the Orissa Provincial Museum so as to facilitate further research work to the students of Indian History.

THE SECRETARY pointed out that a similar resolution was passed last year and the Government of Orissa expressed its inability to set up a record office during the war.

After some discussion THE CHAIRMAN suggested that the resolution might be dropped for the time being.

15. Resolution by Dr. N. K. Sinha.

This Commission recommends strongly to the Government of Mysore the desirability of establishing a State Record Office at an early date, if possible under the aegis of the Mysore University, with a view to stimulate historical research as well as to save the private records from being further spoiled or lost altogether.

In the absence of Dr. Sinha the resolution was not moved.

16. Dates and Places of the 1944 and 1945 Meetings.

THE SECRETARY said that he had no announcement to make with respect to the 1944 and 1945 sessions. His Excellency the Governor of North-West Frontier Province was prepared to invite the Commission to his province next year but he is handicapped by lack of

accommodation there. Invitation has also been received from the Vice-Chancellor, Muslim University, Aligarh, but no decision has as yet been made.

CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Udaipur Government I invite the Commission to meet there in 1944.

17. Vote of Thanks.

A vote of thanks to the Chair was moved by Professor Srinivasa-chari and passed unanimously.

The proceedings concluded with a hearty vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore, Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, Pro-Vice-Chancellor, Travancore University, Mr. R. V. Poduval, Local Secretary and his colleagues of the Local Committee for their kind hospitality and generous contribution to the success of the session.

18. Papers and publications on the following subjects were laid on the table

- (i) Reports of the Local Records Sub-Committee held during 1942.
- (ii) Annual Reports of—
 - (a) Imperial Record Department, 1941. (b) Madras Record Office, 1941. (c) Museum and Nara Ratna Mandir, Indore, 1941.
- (iii) Books and periodicals presented to the Commission (and/or to the Imperial Record Department) during 1942.

Presented by the author :—

- 1. Studies in the History of the British in India, 1942 by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta, M.A., Ph. D.
- 2. Gauriya Culture by Panchanana Raya.

Presented by the Calcutta University :—

- 3. The Central Authority in British India by Dr. A. P. Dasgupta.
- 4. Ranjit Singh by Dr. N. K. Sinha.
- 5. Administrative System of the Marathas (second edition) by Dr. S. N. Sen.
- 6. Studies in Indian History by Dr. S. N. Sen.
- 7. Early Career of Kanhoji Angria and Other Papers by Dr. S. N. Sen.
- 8. The Santhal Insurrection of 1855-57 by Dr. K. K. Datta.
- 9. Rise of the Sikh Power by Dr. N. K. Sinha.
- 10. Alivardi and his Times by Dr. K. K. Datta.
- 11. The Constitutional System of India by Dr. N. C. Ray.
- 12. Rural Self-Government in Bengal by Dr. N. C. Ray.
- 13. India in the Seventeenth Century by Mr. J. N. Dasgupta.
- 14. Aspects of Bengali Society from old Bengali Literature by Dr. T. C. Dasgupta.
- 15. Some Bengal Villages by Mr. N. C. Bhattacharyya.
- 16. Evolution of the Khalsa, Volume 1 by Dr. I. B. Banerjee.
- 17. Problem of Indian Nationality by Mr. Sukumar Datta.

18. History of Political Thought, Volume I, Bengal, by Dr. B. Majumdar.
19. Crisis of Indian Civilisation in the 18th and 19th Century by Mr. H. Goety.
20. History of Factory Legislation in India by Mr. J. C. Kydd.
21. History of Police Organisation in India and Indian Village Police.
22. Selections from the Historical Records of Baroda by Mr. B. A. Gupta.
23. Land Problem of India by Dr. R. K. Mukherji.
24. Studies in the History of the Bengal Subah, Volume I by Dr. K. K. Datta.
25. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, Third session, Calcutta, 1939.
26. Ramadas O Shivaji, by Mr. C. C. Datta I. c. s. (Retd.)
27. Exploration in Tibet by Swami Pranavananda.
28. Prachin Bangla Patra Sankalan by Dr. S. N. Sen.

Presented by the University of Mysore :—

29. Sources of Karnataka History, Volume I by Mr. S. S. Sastri.
30. The Munro System of British Statesmanship in India by Dr. K. N. V. Sastri.

Presented by the Provincial Governments :—

31. Records of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, 1754; Volume 82.
32. Records of Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St. George, 1754, Volume XXXIV.
33. Records of Fort St. George, Letters to Fort St. George, 1758, Volume XXXVIII.
34. Records of Fort St. George, 1763-64, Volume XLIV.
35. Records of Fort St. George, Manilha Consultations, 1764, Volume 10.
36. Records of Fort St. George, Manilha Consultations, 1763; Volume IV.
37. Catalogue of Madras Record Office Publications; 1942.
38. Press List of Ancient Documents regarding Provincial Council of Revenue at Calcutta, Series II; Volume III, Part V.
39. Press List of Ancient Documents regarding the Governor General of Bengal in Council, Series I, Revenue Department, Volume IX, 6 March to 18 December, 1781.
40. A Catalogue of the Punjab Government Record Office Publications, 1941.
41. Monograph No. 19; British Relations with the Cis-Sutlej State, 1809-1823.
42. Press Lists of old Records in the Punjab Civil Secretariat, Volume XIX, from 1849-1851.
43. Annual Report of the Public Library, Allahabad for the year ending 31st March, 1941.
44. Report on the Progress of Education in Orissa for 1939-40.
45. Annual Report on the working of the Provincial Museum, Orissa, Cuttack; for the year ending 31st March. 1941.

Presented by the Government of Free French India, Pondicherry : —

46. Louis Bourquin.
47. Histoire De L'inde Francaise (1664-1814).
48. Histoire de Gingi.
49. Arrêts du Consiel Superieur de Pondichery, Volume VII, 1807-1815.
50. Arrêts du Consiel Superieur de Pondichery, Volume VIII, 1816-1820, Et. Supplement, 1702-1725.
51. Bussy in the Deccan by A. Martineau.

Presented by the National Archives, United States of America :—

52. Seventh Annual Report of the Archivist of the United States, 1940-41.
 53. The Care of Records in a National Emergency—Bulletin No. 3 of the National Archives.
 54. Selected References on Phases of Archival Administration compiled by Solon J. Buck and Ernst Posneri.
 55. Microphotography in Archives by Varnon D. Tate : Staff information circular No. 8, April, 1940.
 56. Protection of documents with cellulose acetate sheeting by B. W. Scribner : Issued December 20, 1940. NBS, Misc. Pub. M. 168.
- (iv) Research reports received from the following members of the Commission.

1. Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law.
2. Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph. D. (London).
3. Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Bisheshwarnath Reu.
4. Mr. C. V. Joshi, M. A.
5. Mr. V. K. R. Menon, B. A. (Hons.), M. sc. (London).
6. Mr. P. Acharya, B. Sc., M. R. A. S., F. R. A. I.
7. Rai Bahadur Raj Kanwar, M. A., P. C. S. (Retd.)
8. Dr. K. K. Datta, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S.
9. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, M. A., D. Litt.
10. Dr. A. G. Pawar, M. A., LL. B., Ph. D., Bar-at-Law.
11. Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar, B. A., L. T.
12. Babu Purna Chandra Rath, B. A., D. Ed.
13. Mr. R. K. Ranadive, M. A.
14. Dr. I. H. Qureshi, M. A., Ph. D. (Cantab).
15. Profesor H. K. Sherwani, M. A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law.
16. Dr. N. K. Sinha, M. A., Ph. D.
17. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M. A.
18. Mr. S. V. Puntambekar, M. A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law.
19. Reverend Father H. Heras, S. J., M. A.
20. Mr. L. P. Pandeya, Kavyavinod, M. N. S. I.
21. Mr. G. H. Khare.
22. Mr. S. N. Banhatti, M. A., LL. B.
23. Dr. M. A. Chaghtai, M. A., Doctor of the University of Paris.
24. Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M. A., LL. B., M. R. A. S.
25. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M. A., Ph. D.
26. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt.
27. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M. A., B. L.
28. Dr. J. C. Sinha, M. A., Ph. D.

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(iv) Research reports received from the following members of the Commission.

1. Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., Ph.D., Bar-at-Law.
2. Dr. B. S. Baliga, M.A., Ph. D. (London).
3. Mahamahopadhyaya Pt. Bisheshwarnath Reu.
4. Mr. C. V. Joshi, M. A.
5. Mr. V. K. R. Menon, B. A. (Hons.), M. sc. (London).
6. Mr. P. Acharya, B. sc., M. R. A. S., F. R. A. I.
7. Rai Bahadur Raj Kanwar, M. A., P. C. S. (Retd.)
8. Dr. K. K. Datta, M. A., Ph. D., P. R. S.
9. Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, M. A., D. Litt.
10. Dr. A. G. Pawar, M. A., LL. B., Ph. D., Bar-at-Law.
11. Mr. K. R. Venkatarama Aiyar, B. A., L. T.
12. Babu Purna Chandra Rath, B. A., D. Ed.
13. Mr. R. K. Ranadive, M. A.
14. Dr. I. H. Qureshi, M. A., Ph. D. (Cantab).
15. Profesor H. K. Sherwani, M. A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law.
16. Dr. N. K. Sinha, M. A., Ph. D.
17. Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M. A.
18. Mr. S. V. Puntambekar, M. A. (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law.
19. Reverend Father H. Heras, S. J., M. A.
20. Mr. L. P. Pandeya, Kavyavinod, M. N. S. I.
21. Mr. G. H. Khare.
22. Mr. S. N. Banhatti, M. A., LL. B.
23. Dr. M. A. Chaghtai, M. A., Doctor of the University of Paris.
24. Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M. A., LL. B., M. R. A. S.
25. Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M. A., Ph. D.
26. Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M. A., Ph. D., D. Litt.
27. Mr. K. P. Mitra, M. A., B. L.
28. Dr. J. C. Sinha, M. A., Ph. D.

29. Rao Saheb C. Hayavadana Rao, B. A., B. L.
 30. Dr. P. C. Gupta, M. A., Ph. D. (London).
 31. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, M. A.
 32. Srimati Kamalabai Kibe.
 33. Maulvi Zafar Hasan, B. A.
 34. Dr. K. K. Basu, M. A., Ph. D.
 35. Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B. A., M. R. A. S. (London).
 36. Dr. B. A. Saletore, M. A., Ph. D. (London), D. Phil. (Giessen).
 37. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, M. A., Ph. D.
 38. Maulvi Hakim Habibur Rahman.
 39. Dr. Bool Chand, M. A., Ph. D.
 40. Mr. S. A. Shere, M. A.
 41. Cavaliere Panduranga Pissurlencar.
 42. Mons. A. Lehuraux.
 43. Mr. S. C. Goswami, I. S. O.
 44. Sardar Ganda Singh, M. A.
 45. Mr. M. L. Roy Chowdhury, M. A., B. L., P. R. S., Sastri.
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It is action taken by the Government of India and the Provincial Governments etc., on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission passed at the eighteenth meeting.

Resolution of the Commission.

RESOLUTION I. This Commission deeply mourns the death of Mr. W. T. Ottewill and authorises the Secretary to convey to his relatives a message of sympathy and condolence on behalf of the Commission.

Orders of the Government of India.

The resolution of condolence was forwarded to the bereaved family.

RESOLUTION II. This Commission recommends that the Five-year publication programme of the Imperial Record Department be approved.

Approved in general by the Government of India. (1) They have however decided that the publications contemplated in parts I, II and III (b) of the programme should be issued under the title "Selections from the Records and the State papers of the Government of India" and that those to be issued under part III (a) should bear the title "Records in Oriental languages." (2) The Government have also decided that the actual printing work to be undertaken by the Imperial Record Department in this connection should be subject to their prior approval. (3) The Government of India have also accorded their sanction to the entertainment of a staff of one proof-reader, one copy-holder and four typists till 28th February 1943.

RESOLUTION III. This Commission requests the Government of India to send a communication to the Provincial Governments, Indian States, Universities and learned societies that scholars in their employment should be allowed all facilities in the shape of travelling expenses and leave (where necessary) to enable them to participate in the publication scheme of the Imperial Record Department.

Forwarded to all the Provincial Governments and the Chief Commissioners, Delhi and the Indian States for taking necessary action. The matter was also communicated to the learned societies and the Universities through the Provincial Governments and Indian States.

Action taken by the Provincial Governments etc.

Mrs. Ottewill has communicated her thanks to the members of the Commission for the sympathy expressed by them in her bereavement.

(1) As the Secretary of State appears to have entered into an agreement with a firm of publishers in England for the publication of the volumes of the Indian Record Series no volume can be published in India without a previous abrogation of the agreement. The Government of India however have requested the Secretary of State to take steps for terminating the agreement. The reply is awaited.

(2) As the sanction of the publication scheme was received at the end of June it has not been possible as yet to submit the details of the printing work to be undertaken for the approval of the Government of India.

(1) The Government of the U. P. consider that "it would not be possible for them to find money in the present circumstances for the travelling expenses and leave arrangements of the officers of that Government for the work."

(2) The Government of Bombay solicited information as to the time which the nominees of learned bodies might be required to spend away from their usual work for work in connection with the part III of the programme.

(3-6) The Kolhapur, Aundh and Sangli Darbars have no comments to offer on the resolution.

(6) The Government of Assam do not contemplate to take any action on the Resolution in view of the situation brought about by the war.

The Government of India have been moved to send a suitable reply to the Provincial Government.

- (7) The Government of the Punjab are willing to grant permission to their employees to undertake such work whenever their normal duties permit. They however observe that it will not be possible to grant special leave or travelling allowance for the purpose to the officers concerned.
- (8) The Orissa Government will consider sympathetically if any request is received to allow all facilities in the shape of travelling expenses and leave etc., to such scholars in the Province who wish to participate in the publication programme of the Imperial Record Department.
- (9) The Government of Madras are of opinion that in the absence of definite information upon the nature of the services and the periods for which the Curator, Madras Record Office (who is the only provincial officer from Madras, to the Research and Publication Committee) may have to be absent, and in view of their own publication programme and the administrative work of the Curator, it will not be possible for him to take part in the publication work of the Imperial Record Department. They are however of opinion that he will be instructed to render all possible help to the extent of giving technical advice and writing historical introductions. They also presume that he may not be called upon to make journeys to Delhi. The Government of Madras will not be in a position to bear any portion of the expenditure connected with the scheme of the publication of the records of the Government of India.
- (10) Although the Madras University regrets that it cannot see its way to undertake publication on the lines suggested in the resolution it agrees to meet the travelling and halting allowances of the Head of the University Department of Indian History or of another member co-opted in his stead or asked to attend the meeting of the Indian Historical Records Commission under usual conditions.
- (11) Andam University is in favour of the five-year publication programme drawn by the Research and Publication Committee and its other recommendations, but the University feels that it is not in a position to bear any expenditure in this connection.
- (12) Annamalai University will be glad to co-operate to the extent to which it lies in its power in the matter of publications proposed by the Historical Records Commission.
- (13-14) The Sri Venkateswara Oriental Institute, Tirupati and the Tanjore Maharaja Sarfoji's Saraswathi Mahal Library are unable to grant the facilities asked for.
- (15-16) The Indian Geographical Society and the Adyar Library have agreed to grant facilities in the shape of travelling allowance and leave respectively to their members and scholars.
- (17) Allahabad University informs that it will be very pleased to offer all facilities and grant duty leave to such of its tenurers as are engaged on work connected with the Commission. It however informs that its finances will not permit of the payment of travelling expenses.
- (18) Lucknow University agrees with the five-year publication programme of the Indian Historical Records Commission, but cannot undertake any financial liability in this connection.
- (19) Benares Hindu University will view sympathetically the cases of any of its employees if they are asked to co-operate with the proposed work.
- (20) The Junagadh Darbar have no objection to the five-year publication programme for the Imperial Record Department and are willing to co-operate by granting such facilities to their college professors and other scholars as will enable them to participate in the publication programme.
- (21) The Mysore Government inform that it is not possible for the University at this moment to depute any scholar to participate in the proposed publication programme of the Imperial Record Department.
- (22) The Baroda Government agree to grant all facilities in the shape of travelling allowance and leave (where necessary) to the scholars to enable them to participate in the publication programme of the Imperial Record Department.

RESOLUTION III—contd.

(23-24) The Tripura Government and the Patna Darbar have agreed to co-operate by granting facilities in the shape of travelling expenses and leave (where necessary) to scholars on their employment to enable them to participate in the publication programme.

(25) The Bikaner Government state that they have sanctioned travelling expenses of their representative and that, where necessary, leave should also be granted to him.

(26) The Mewar Government agree to give facilities to their scholars, whether official or non-official, to participate in the publication programme of the Imperial Record Department.

(27) The Alwar Government would be glad to afford facilities in the shape of travelling expenses and leave if necessary to scholars in their employment to enable them to participate in the publication programme.

(28) Dholpur Darbar have agreed to grant all facilities to research scholars in their employment, if any, to enable them to participate in the publication programme.

(29) The Jhalwar Darbar state that suitable action will be taken after the war.

(30-33) The Mayurbhanj, Cooch Behar, Kalhandi and Surguja Darbars appreciate the Five-year publication programme drawn up for the Imperial Record Department and have agreed to extend their full co-operations and to grant all necessary facilities in the shape of travelling expenses etc. to scholars to enable them to participate in the publication programme.

(34-37) The Travancore and Cochin Governments, University of Travancore and the Pudukkottai Darbar state that they are prepared to extend their co-operation in carrying out the Five-year publication programme.

(38) The Jodhpur Government inform that they will allow facilities to scholars in their employment to enable them to participate in the publication scheme.

(39) The Jaipur Government have intimated that on account of financial commitments and other difficulties it will not be practicable for them to participate in the proposed scheme for reorganising the Indian Historical Records Commission.

(40) The Bharatpur Government will be glad to co-operate in the scheme for the Five-year publication programme.

(41) The Kotah Darbar have stated that Dr. Mathura Lal Sharma, M.A., D. Litt., is the only history scholar of note and they will have no objection to his helping the publication programme. The Darbar are willing to extend their co-operation by the grant of all facilities in the shape of travelling expenses and leave to Dr. Mathura Lal to enable him to participate.

(42-44) The Tehri-Garhwal, Sirmur and Kalala Darbars agree to co-operate and provide every facility to such of their historical research scholars as might participate in the Five-year publication programme of the Imperial Record Department.

(45) The University of the Punjab state that they are unable to spare funds to provide necessary facilities in the shape of travelling allowance etc. to scholars to enable them to participate in the publication of Part III of the Five-year publication programme of the Imperial Record Department.

(1) The Nizam Government state that as financial and administrative considerations arise they will take a little longer to reply on the subject of Resolutions II, IV(a), V & VII.

(2) The Alwar Government are making enquiries to ascertain how far the recommendations made in Resolutions II, IV(a), VIII & IX can be implemented in the State in the present circumstances. The result will be communicated in due course.

(3) Bundi and Dholpur States have not taken any action on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission as no historical records of any importance are available there.

(4) The Karnali Darbar were not addressed.

(5) The Mayurbhanj Darbar have nominated Mr. P. Acharya, their State Archaeologist, and the Cooch Behar Darbar Messrs. Khan Chowdhury Arameshullah and S. C. Ghosal, M.A., B.L., to co-operate with the scheme. The Cochin Government further inform that they have placed Resolutions II, III and V passed by the Indian Historical Records Commission at its 18th Meeting before the Rama Varma Research Institute Committee for consideration.

(6) The Holkar Government have brought to the notice of the members of the History and Oriental Languages Departments of their College the Five-year publication programme and are prepared to consider in case of any suitable offer is forthcoming.

RESOLUTION IV (c). This Commission recommends that a copy of the five-year publication programme be forwarded to the Provincial Governments and Indian States with a request that they should also arrange for the publication of the records in their custody on similar lines as far as practicable. The Commission is aware that the Government of Madras have their own publication scheme.

Forwarded to all the Provincial Governments and the Indian States. The Government of the U. P. were informed by the Government of India that they have already taken into consideration the difficult conditions brought about by the present emergency in sanctioning the five-year publication programme in respect of the records in the custody of the Imperial Record Department. The programme has accordingly been drawn up on a reduced scale and the Government of India do not, therefore, consider it necessary to postpone it.

(1) The Government of the U. P. do not propose to embark on a publication programme during the present emergency. The Provincial Government have however agreed to co-operate fully with the Commission in this matter on the conclusion of the war.

(2) The Government of Bombay inform that they have already published 7 volumes of selected records from the Poona Residency correspondence in the Alienation Office, Poona and that 9 more volumes are awaiting publication. A descriptive catalogue of the historical records in the Bombay Secretariat is also being prepared. The Government do not propose to undertake any other work before the completion of the catalogue.

(3-5) The Kollapuri, Sangli and Aundh Darbars have no comments to offer.

(6) The Government of Assam observe that Kanrup Anusandhan Samiti and the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam are regularly publishing documents of historical importance obtained from different sources and that the Government do not contemplate to take any further action in view of the present emergency.

(7) The Government of Orissa inform that the Province of Orissa has been formed only in 1936 and there are very few old records in the Provincial Secretariat. These records are being re-examined and a further report on the subject will be submitted later.

(8) The Government of Madras have their own publication schemes. Several important programmes of publications have already been taken up by the Madras Records Office extending to more than five years.

(9) The Junagadh Darbar inform that they are arranging for the publication of records in their custody on similar lines as far as possible.

(10) The Baroda Government have undertaken the publication of selections of historical importance from their records. Six volumes have been already issued and the seventh is under preparation.

(11) The Government of Sind inform that the question regarding publication of records in the custody of Provincial Government has been postponed for the duration of the war.

(12) The Dhankanal Darbar report that Pandit Narendranath Mahapatra has been engaged to collect any historical records that may be in the State for publication.

(13) The Mewar Government state that a catalogue is under preparation and that the question of publishing the records will be dealt with as soon as cataloguing is finished.

(14) The Dungarpur Government's reply has been noted against Resolution V.

(15) Alwar Government's proposal for publication will be found against Resolution V.

(16) Surguja Darbar state that the examination and classification of their records have not yet been done and they cannot therefore take immediate action for their printing and publication.

(17) Mayurbhanj Darbar state that they will arrange to publish (1) such records as are in their custody, (2) records relating to the history of the State in the custody of the Government of India.

(18) Keonjhar Darbar are taking necessary action.

(19) Sarnagadh Darbar state that action on the lines recommended has long before been taken.

(1) The Banawara and Partabgarh Darbars and the Kushalnagar Chiefship were not addressed. Replies from the remaining States will be communicated by the Hon'ble the Resident for Rajputana when received.

(2) Keonjhar Darbar are sending to the "Bhanja" volume entitled "Bhanja Mohadayan" in Sanakrit, edited by Pandit Banambar, Acharya Librarian of the State

- (20) The Travancore Government state that certain historical records belonging to their Central Records Office have already been published and that the question of further selection and publication is under consideration.
- (21) Suket Darbar inform that all historical material available in the State is embodied in the State Gazette (1924 edition). No further action appears to be necessary.
- (22-24) Malerkotla, Loharu and Mandi Darbars do not propose to take any action at present. Mandi Darbar have already published all available information in the form of a Mandi State Gazette and History.
- (25) The Jodhpur Government agree to arrange for publication of records in their custody as far as practicable.
- (26) The Punjab Government inform that while they fully recognise the need for a comprehensive programme of publication of provincial records of a historical nature on the lines adopted by the Imperial Record Department in relation to the records of the Government of India, they have decided to defer the consideration of this question until the end of the war when the supply of paper may be expected to return to normal.
- (27) The Kashmir Government state that the question of publishing the historical material existing in the records must wait till all the records have been examined. The Governor of the French Establishments in India considers that no action on his part is called for as the publication programme relates to the records in British India and also informs that the French Indian Historical Society has a scheme for publication of Pondicherry records and has already published quite a good number of books under this scheme.

A list of the publications of French Indian Historical Society is laid on the table.

The Portuguese Government have agreed to take necessary steps for publishing important records in their custody.

- (1) The Government of the U. P. do not consider this an opportune time for establishing regional committees and conducting surveys to discover historical records in private custody.
- (2) The Government of N.-W. F. P. are not in favour of setting up a regional committee before the conclusion of the war.
- (3) The Government of Sind do not consider it necessary at present to set up a regional committee for the survey of historical records though they are willing to accord all such facilities as may involve no expenditure to the members of the Commission for carrying on any survey in the Province.
- (4) The Government of Assam observe that the Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, Assam, is engaged in doing exactly the work contemplated in the resolution and do not propose to constitute a new committee to implement the programme in view of the present emergency.
- (5-7) The Kohlapur, Aundh and Sangli Darbars have no comments to offer on the Resolution.
- (8) The Pudukkottai Darbar have set up a local committee and have directed it to bring to the notice of the Darbar the details of historical records discovered in the State.
- (9) The Government of the Punjab inform that they have constituted a regional committee on the lines contemplated in the Resolution.
- (10) The Madras Government state that they have decided to postpone the matter till after the war in view of the present instruction of the Government of India for elimination of non-essential work during the war. They agreed to part (b) and (c) of the Resolution.

It may be remarked that one Associate member and a Corresponding member have been excluded from the personnel of the committee. The Punjab Government however are of the opinion that the existing personnel is best suited for the purpose and are not in favour of reorganising it in the light of the Resolution.

Forwarded to the Governments of the Free French and Portuguese India.

Forwarded to the Provincial Governments, the Chief Commissioner of Delhi and the Indian States.

- (b) The Commission further recommends that a copy of the resolution may be forwarded to the Governments of Free French and Portuguese India also.

RESOLUTION V. This Commission recommends that the Government of India request the Provincial Governments and the Indian States (a) to set up local committees in consultation with the Ordinary Associate and Corresponding members of the Commission in their areas to conduct regional surveys with a view to bringing to light records in private custody and providing for their preservation and publication;

- (b) to include the Ordinary, Associate and Corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission in their respective areas;
- (c) to accord all facilities to the Ordinary, Associate and Corresponding members of the Commission for carrying on the regional surveys pending the appointment of the Committees recommended.

Resolution V—contd.

(11) The Government of the U. P. and Benar state that the discovery and cataloguing of historical records privately held was attempted by Dr. Hirai Lal many years ago. The matter was taken up by the Nagpur University in 1940 and efforts are also being made by several learned societies. The Provincial Government are now in correspondence with the Nagpur University with a view to exploring the possibility of co-ordinating the activities of these bodies.

(12) The Government of Bombay consider that the matter is not urgent and should be kept pending during the war.
(13) While the Government of Bengal would be glad to accept the recommendations made in the resolutions they feel that the matter may well be postponed till the war period of emergency.

(14) The Junagadh Darbar contemplate the appointment of a local committee for the purpose of providing for and preserving from natural decay and deterioration the old historic antiquities and the records of the State.

(15) The Travancore Government have not set up any local committee but the University is taking steps for the collection and preservation of valuable records in the possession of private parties.

(16) The Government of Bihar inform that a local committee has been set up under the Presidency of the Dewan to conduct regional survey of records.

(17) The Gwalior Darbar inform that the question of the appointment of a local committee is receiving consideration of His Highness's Government.

(18) The Bikaner Government consider that it would not be possible to set up local committees for each State in Rajputana but it might be possible to appoint one committee for the whole of Rajputana, and that might prove of value to the States. If this is approved they will be glad to co-operate. Steps for the preservation of old records in the State have been taken.

(19) The Mowat Government accept the recommendations to set up a local committee for regional survey of records in the State.

(20) The Durgapur Government state that as they already have a Department which deals with historical records it is unnecessary for them to appoint a regional survey committee. The Curator who is in charge of the Department has carried out an extensive survey and brought to light several documents, inscriptions etc., from private custody. These are now preserved in the archives of the Department. The more important of these are published from time to time in the State Gazette. The Government agree to give all facilities to any member of the Indian Historical Records Commission for carrying out a survey in the State.

(21) Banaswari Darbar state that a local committee consisting of one convener, one special member and two other members have been appointed in the State to carry out the functions referred to in this resolution.

Information is lacking as to the nature of the work done by the learned bodies referred to by the U. P. Government. It may be remarked that if the work done is on the same lines as that attempted by Dr. Hirai Lal who appears to have made a survey of Sanskrit and Prakrit MSS. only it would fail to satisfy the requirements of the Commission as adumbrated in the Resolution. The U. P. Government may be requested to kindly supply details about the work being done to the Indian Historical Records Commission at their earliest convenience.

The committee consists of Director, Secondary and Primary Education, Professor of History, Bairishi College and the Superintendent of Central Records.

Rajpipla State

RESOLUTION V—contd.

- (22) The Alwar Government state that they are alive to the necessity of preservation, and if necessary, publication of valuable historical documents as may be in the possession of the State or private families in that State. The State has now set up a small exploratory committee. The main duty of this committee at present is to find out valuable records which need preservation and to submit proposals for their preservation and if necessary, publication.
- (23) The Kotah Darbar state that there are no suitable persons in their State who could form a local committee.
- (24) Bundi Darbar state that there are no historical records and no Ordinary Associate or Corresponding members of the Commission in that State and they do not propose to take any action on the resolutions of the Indian Historical Records Commission.
- (25) The Bharatpur Government propose to set up a small local committee of influential persons to take up a regional survey.
- (26) Lohur Darbar state that suitable action will be taken in due course.
- (27) Jashpur Darbar state that as there are no historical records in the State archives the question of setting up any regional committee in the State does not arise.
- (28) The Mayurbhanj State state that they hardly possess any records belonging to the pre-Mughal period because old records of historical interest or value were destroyed by fire.
- (29) Tehri (Garhwal) Darbar do not propose to set up any committee as there are practically no private records in the State. All the State records are preserved in the State Record Room.
- (30) Kalsia Darbar inform that they are prepared to afford every possible facility to the Ordinary Associate and Corresponding members of the Indian Historical Records Commission and other research students for carrying on regional surveys if and when necessary. The State being very small in area do not contemplate the setting up of any local committee.
- (31) Sirmur Darbar state that they have constituted a Committee. The Committee will include the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission as its original members.
- (32) Bilaspur Darbar inform that they have established a committee to survey historical records.
- (33) The Patiala Government inform that they have deputed Sardar S. N. Bawerjee, Professor of History, Mohindra College, Patiala to collect historical records in private custody. The question will be further considered in the light of the preliminary report to be submitted by the Professor.
- (34) Khairpur Darbar inform that a number of documents of historical value have been collected by the Darbar.
- (35) The Cochin Government state that no action has so far been taken with regard to the suggestion to set up local committees to conduct regional surveys. They however state that the important records to be found in the State are usually found written on palm-leaf and bound up in the form of *grandhas*, large numbers of which are to be found in the Illons (residences) of Nambudiries. A grandha library has been opened in the Sanskrit College at Tripunthura and 2 persons have been entrusted with the special work of inspecting, copying and preserving records in private custody.

A number of stamps of different rulers, 8 old coins and old stone images carved on sand stone have so far been collected. The Lohur Darbar hope to be able to collect some more documents of historical value later.

Members of the Committee are
(1) Mr. H. C. Sharma, B.A. (Oxon.), Chairman. (2) Mr. S. D. S. Chathan, M.A., LL.B., (Convener. (3) Capt. Madhusudan Dutta, Member. (4) Lala Beni Prasad, Pleader, Member. (5) Chowdhury Gopal Singh, B.A., Member.

The only associate member of the Indian Historical Records Commission from the State is Mr. V. K. K. Menon, Secretary to H. H. the Maharaja and he has been given all facilities in his activities.

Resolution of the Commission.

RESOLUTION V—*concl.*

Orders of the Government of India.

Action taken by the Provincial Governments etc.

Remarks.

(36) The Jodhpur Government inform that they have already collected several documents of historical importance from private possession and further efforts in this direction will be continued.

(37) The Bihar Government inform that they have got a scheme prepared by the Bihar and Orissa Research Society the recurring cost of which is estimated to be Rs. 2,000 a year. But they consider that the matter is not urgent and may be kept pending till the duration of war.

(38) The Bahawal Darbar do not propose to set up any committee as there is not much material for historical research. They are prepared to afford every possible facility to members of the Historical Commission who might visit the State in search of historical data.

(39) The Kashmir Government have informed that the question of setting up a local committee in Kashmir will be considered after they have nominated their representative on the Commission.

Forwarded for the information of the Government of India.

RESOLUTION VI. The Commission conveys a unanimous vote of thanks to the Chairman of the Research and Publication Committee.

RESOLUTION VII. This Commission recommends that (a) the Governments of Bombay and Bengal be requested to expedite the work of indexing their records on the lines of the Index to the Land Revenue Records issued by the Imperial Record-Department.

Forwarded to the Governments of Bombay and Bengal.

(1) The Government of Bombay inform that only 102 volumes of historical records in the Secretariat Record Office, Bombay, have so far been hand-listed on the lines of the Catalogue of *Francis and Taylor*. Series by Hill and that the indexing of the records covering the period 1828-57 will be taken up after the completion in about 10 years of the listing of records up to 1827 (comprising 4,500 volumes each of 400 pages or more).

(2) The Government of Bengal inform that in view of the present policy of slowing down of unessential work during the time of war, it is not possible for them to expedite the work of indexing their records.

Forwarded to the Government of Bihar.

Bihar Government inform that an estimate of work to be done in indexing the pre-war records is not yet complete as estimates from some of the District Officers are awaited. But from the reports already received it is evident that unless a preliminary survey of records is made by a research student of history it is not possible to frame an accurate estimate of work. The present is not an opportune time for this work and the Provincial Government have therefore decided that the matter should be kept in abeyance till the termination of war.

Forwarded to the Government of the C. P. and Berar.

as the existing indexes to the records of the C. P. Government are inadequate for research purposes that Government be requested to re-index their old documents under the supervision of experts, if possible.

The Government of the C. P. and Berar consider that their records have been adequately indexed and that their indexes provide adequate information for research scholars. The Provincial Government do not want to reopen the question during the pendency of the war.

The Indian Historical Records Commission expressed its views on the indexes in question after a proper scrutiny and examination of the specimens which were referred to it at its last session.

The Bombay Government may be requested to consider the question of expediting the cataloguing of the records.

Resolution of the Commission.

Orders of the Government of India.

Action taken by the Provincial Governments etc.

Remarks.

Resolution VIII. In view of the fact that most of the Indian States have not sent any reply to its query and the information furnished by some states is so meagre that it is not possible to form any idea of the research facilities afforded to *bonafide* students, resolved that the Commission again requests the Indian States to furnish the necessary information at an early date.

Forwarded to the Indian States:

- (1) The Pudukkottai State observe that they will be glad to allow *bonafide* research The Darbar may be requested students responsible facilities to examine historical records in the Land Record and to frame suitable rules governing the access to the records by the Dewan. If their applications are supported by the Dewan. In question and to furnish a copy of the same to the Commission.
- (2-4) The Kolhapur, Aundh and Sangli Darbars have no comments to offer.
- (5) The Patiala Darbar observe that owing to the paucity of funds due to war conditions it has not so far been possible for them to take any action on the Resolution. Research facilities will be afforded to *bonafide* students on application.
- (6) The Travancore Government remark that the work of sorting out the important historical records and preparing an index in English is under consideration.
- (7) The Gwalior Darbar asked for clarification of the "query" referred to in the Resolution.
- (8) The Durgapur Government state that *bona fide* students will be given every facility for research work.
- (9) The Banswara Darbar's reply will be found against Resolution V.
- (10) Karauli Darbar state that the State records are being arranged but they do not contemplate setting up any elaborate scheme for research at present.
- (11) Bastar Darbar state that no preliminary records are available in the State.
- (12) Patna Darbar state that as there are no preliminary records in the State-archives it is not possible to take any action in the lines of the Resolutions Nos. II, III and IV (a). No information can thus be furnished by the State on Resolution VIII.
- (13) Surguja Darbar state that all documents of historical importance are carefully kept. The Darbar have no objection to any research student visiting the State for the calendaring of historical records.
- (14) Tripura Darbar state that they have not opened as yet any research work on the line proposed but the question is still under the consideration of the Government.
- (15) The Bilaspur Darbar state that the indexing of important Government records is in progress and also taking steps to index the settlement report, revenue papers, Government treaties with the State and other available historical records.
- (16) The Khairpur Darbar inform that the Central Record Office which has recently been established will shortly take up the indexing of the historical records on the lines indicated.
- (17) The Kapurthala Darbar inform that facilities will be afforded to *bona fide* research students to consult the records on manuscripts kept in the Toshkhana Library, provided they go to Kapurthala for this purpose.
- (18) The Jhind Darbar state that owing to work relating to the war effort and civil defence, it is not possible for them to undertake the indexing of the historical records at present.

The manuscripts and books are extremely rare and they are never lent to anybody outside Kapurthala.

(19) The Chamba Darbar inform that all historical records are carefully preserved in the Bhuri Singh Museum. All important ones have been catalogued and condensed and a printed catalogue is available. Indexing will be shortly undertaken. *Bengalee* research students are given all facilities to study the records in the Museum.

(20) Tehri (Garhwal) Darbar state that after indexing the old records they find that they do not contain any material likely to be of interest to the Historical Records Commission. Records are kept in the Central Records Office at Tehri.

(21) Simur Darbar inform that indexes of pre-mutiny records have been prepared.

(22) The Cochin Government state that the State is always agreeable to give facilities to all *bongade* research workers.

(23) The Jodhpur Government inform that they have a historical branch in their Archaeological Department and the preparation of indices of pre-mutiny records on the lines recommended will be taken up as funds permit. Adequate funds may not however be available for the purpose during the pendency of war.

(24) Faridkot Darbar inform that early history of the State and its historical events are embodied in the Punjab States Gazetteer (Vol. XVI, A—Faridkot State). The only other record is contained in two books—"Alma Barbars" and "Tarikh Faridkot," which are in the State Library. Revenue records from the first settlement of 1861-65 are properly maintained in the State Revenue Records Office and are in chronological order.

(25) Basihar State inform that they have only a few copper *palas* which form their historical record. They present no difficulty in deciphering.

(26) The Kashmir Government state that it is not possible to afford any facility to the research scholars or to assess the historical value of the State's old records. As soon as the indexing has been completed, the examination of records can be taken up.

Forwarded to the Governments of Bombay, U. P., Bihar, C. P. and Berar, Assam, N.-W. P., Sind and Orissa and to the Indian States (except Baroda and Hyderabad).

The position regarding the establishment of a Central Records Office was explained by the Government of India to the Government of Bombay.

(1) (a) The Government of Bombay are of the opinion that in view of their possessing two record offices (one at Poona and the other at the Bombay Secretariat), there is no action on their part in the Resolution.

(b) The Government of Bombay do not propose to take up the question of the establishment of a Central Records Office in that Province till after the war. That Government also do not propose to take up the question of the appointment of a Curator of Records till the return of normal times.

(2) For the action taken by the Government of N.-W. P. see under Resolution XV.

On the suggestion of the Legislative Council, 6 members (3 official and 3 non-official) were given permission to do research work in the Central Record Office of the State.

As the intention of the Resolution is to establish a Central Records Office of similar status to those of Madras, Bengal and the Punjab which are under the unified control, of a qualified Keeper of Records, an enquiry has been made of the Bombay Government as to whether they propose to appoint a whole-time K. R.

- (3) The Government of Sind consider that no action is necessary on the Resolution, as there is already a Government Record Office in the Province.
- (4) (a) The Government of the C. P. and Berar asked for complete information as to the exact meaning of the expression "opening of a Central Record Office" and opined that the opening of a Central Record Office should not interfere with that Government's present means of rapid access to records.
- (b) The Government of the C.P. and Berar does not propose to take up the question of establishing a Central Record Office with whole time qualified Keeper of Records until after the War.
- (5) (a) The Government of the U. P. consider that the record room of the Civil Secretariat at Lucknow and that of the Board of Revenue at Allahabad will serve the purpose of Central Record Offices. They further inform that two sets of rules are being framed for supplying information to the public as well as for regulating access to the records in the two record rooms.
- (b) The Government of the U. P. regret to inform that the proposal of establishing a Central Record Office in that province in the interests of the research scholars is impracticable.
- (6) The Patiala Darbar report that the recommendations of the Commission embodied in the Resolution IV of the Seventeenth session are being acted upon.
- (7) The Pudukkottai Darbar consider that the State is too small to have a Central Record Office. They further state that old documents of historical importance are being preserved in the Land Records and Survey Offices of the Revenue Department while some of the copper plates are in the custody of the State Museum.
- (8) The Government of Orissa do not consider the present time suitable for the establishment of a Central Records Office, particularly because they are at present removing their records away from Cuttack, the provincial capital, as a large portion of the province is considered to be within a danger zone.
- (9) The Travancore Government inform that there is already a Central Records Office (Buzur Government Records) for the State where all old records are preserved.
- (10) The Baroda Government report that a Central Record Office has been established for over 50 years for the preservation of all important official documents and though the likelihood of the existence of any pre-modern historical documents in the State is very remote, arrangement for the preservation separately in the above Records Office of such valuable historical documents will be made and all due facilities will be gladly afforded, whenever requested, to bona-fide scholars and members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.
- The Government of India have been asked to enlighten the Provincial Government as to the full implications of a Central Record Office and to remove the misapprehension under which that Government seem to be labouring viz., that the reorganisation of their Record Office on modern lines might interfere with the prompt supply of Government requisitions for Records.
- It is not desirable that a provincial Government should have two Central Record Offices and two sets of rules governing access to the records in their custody. The Government of India have accordingly been moved to enquire of the Provincial Government as to whether they intend to place their records under the unified control of a qualified K. R. and to frame only one set of rules to govern access to them. We may ask the Darbar as to whether they do not consider it desirable from the point of view of preservation, economy and administration to place their records under the unified control of a qualified Keeper of Records.

Rajpūta States

The Record Room of the Baroda Government has been thrown open to *bonafide* students since 1931 and rules regarding access to it were framed on the lines of Government of India Records.

(10a)

Action taken by the Provincial Governments etc.

Remarks.

- (11) The Gwalior Darbar inform that a Central Record Organisation already exists in the State but the opening of a special historical section in that organisation is hardly feasible at present.
- (12) The Government of Bihar state that the question of establishing a Central Records Office in the province of Bihar has been fully considered in the past and the Provincial Government have come to the conclusion that as the scheme is expensive and as the expenses involved is not commensurate with the quantity or historical value of the material, a single record room is not really necessary in that province.
- (13) The Mysore Government state that *bona fide* scholars who go to Mysore to consult libraries and manuscripts are allowed to do so under proper supervision. As a preliminary to the establishment of a Central Records Office they have sanctioned the cataloguing of books and manuscripts in their libraries. When this work has been completed a Central Records Office will be established.
- (14) The Durgapur Government state that a Central Record Office has been in existence since the beginning of this century.
- (15) The Banwar Darbar's reply will be found against Resolution V.
- (16) Bastar Darbar state that as only a few files of any historical value are in the State Office and as these are carefully preserved in English Record Room of the Administrator's Office the organisation of a separate record office for their preservation is not considered necessary.
- (17-20) Kalhandi, Kanker, Khalagarh and Nandgaon Darbars state that they have no valuable old historical documents or records and they do not think necessary to take any action in the matter.
- (21) The Patna Darbar are taking proper steps for the preservation of such of the historical documents (original or copies) pertaining to the state as are in their possession but as their number is strictly limited the need for organising record office on up-to-date lines for this purpose has not yet been felt.
- (22) The Raigarh Darbar state that no pre-mutiny records are available in the State for being indexed. The Darbar do not see the necessity of establishing any local Central Records Office.
- (23) Sarangarh Darbar state that action to give effect to the establishment of a Central Record Office in the State is being taken.
- (24) The Surguja Darbar have no objection for organising a Central Record Room on modern lines.
- (25) The Mayurbhanj Darbar state that there is Central Record Room in that State fully organised but that it does not contain any historical records.
- (26) The Jajpur Government state that the question of reorganising their own Historical Record Office is under consideration and they are therefore unable at present to express their final views.
- (27) Tripura Darbar state that under the denomination 'Rajmala' the historical records of the State are preserved under a qualified officer.

The Archaeological Department of Mayurbhanj State is engaged in collecting valuable historical documents from private sources usually from families, or found during the course of survey. The State usually preserve such documents in its own Museum and any expert help which it might

Also answer to Resolution VII.

(28) Bhawalpur Darbar inform that they will take action on the subject as far as possible.

(29) Khairpur Darbar state that a Central Records Office has recently been established for Court Records.

(30) Kapurthala Darbar invite a reference to the opinion recorded against resolution IV of the 18th session of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

(31) The Tehri (Garhwal) Darbar inform that the records of the Darbar are kept in the Central Records Office at Tehri.

(32) Simur Darbar state that there is a Central Records Office in the State which is located in the Darbar Office.

(33) The Kalala Darbar state that they have their own Record Office and a few historical records which they have, have already been arranged in the manner desired.

(34) The Cochin Government state that a Central Records Office organised on indigenous lines has existed from a very early period. This was reorganised on western lines during the Diwanship of Sir A. R. Baverle. That Government propose to train in the Imperial Record Department a state candidate in Archives Keeping in order to effect further changes in the system of preservation.

(35) The Jodhpur Government inform that they have appointed a Committee with Pandit Bhakshwarath Rao, Superintendent, Archaeological Department as a convener in order to facilitate the work with regard to the establishment of a Central Records Office.

(36) The Bilaspur Darbar have issued orders for the establishment of a Central Records Office and a Keeper of Records has been appointed.

(37) The Kashmir Government inform that they have under consideration the question of establishing a Central Records Office, but the problem of accommodation is presenting difficulty and cannot be solved during the war. A beginning has, however, been made and considerable work has been done in weeding out and indexing records.

"The rules for the destruction of records of this Court in its Original Jurisdiction are set out in Chapter XXXVIII of the Original Side Rules. These rules lay down in some detail the procedure to be followed in regard to the destruction of old records and contain safeguards which should satisfy the members of the Commission which passed resolution, a copy of which was forwarded with your letter of such reply. There would be no objection as far as I am aware to members of such a body as the Royal Asiatic Society, or persons deputed by the University of Calcutta seeing such documents as have been selected for destruction under the Court rules with a view to the preservation of such documents as they considered of historical value. The writer would be glad to know what has led to the members of the Commission apprehending that the documents of value would be destroyed. If the members of the Commission are of the opinion that the existing rules are unsatisfactory I would like to have definite details which I could place before the Judges after the long vacation. No records will be destroyed in the meantime, so no danger exists in regard to documents being destroyed by the Court Officers under the rules."

Forwarded to the Government of
Dongal.

SOLUTION 5. This Commission requests the High Court of Calcutta to consult such members of the Commission as ordinarily reside in Dongal before it decides to destroy any of its old records and the Commission further suggests that the Calcutta University may be given an opportunity of preserving such records as may be finally condemned for destruction.

require for the organisation of its Museum Room will be obtained from the Secretary Indian Historical Records Commission.

H. E. the Crown Representative was moved to inform the Cochin Darbar that a seat has been reserved for their candidate for training in the Imperial Record Department.

Resolution of the Commission.

Orders of the Government of India.

RESOLUTION XI. This Commission recommends that a journal dealing mainly with the science of preservation and administration of Archives be published from the Imperial Record Department.

The Government of India agree in principle to the proposed issue of a quarterly journal dealing with the Science of Archives and preservation under the auspices of the Imperial Record Department. The actual publication of the journal during war time is however owing to the shortage of paper, still under their consideration and the decision is awaited.

RESOLUTION XII. (a) This Commission desires in general the report of Dr. S. Sen, the Keeper of Imperial Records in the maintenance of the Records in the Information Office, Poona (Peshwa Daftar) and urges upon the Government of Bombay to take necessary steps to implement the recommendations and resolutions contained in his note.

The Commission appreciates the Bombay Government's action in inviting the Keeper of the Imperial Records to advise them about the Peshwa Daftar and the action of the Government of India in lending the services of the Keeper of the Imperial Records.

RESOLUTION XIII. This Commission recommends that the Madras University should bring out a Handlist of the Kangle Manuscripts as early as possible.

RESOLUTION XIV. This Commission in reference to its previous recommendations strongly urges upon the Government the necessity of bringing a Central Record Office in United Provinces at an early date.

RESOLUTION XV. This Commission recommends that a Record Office be established in the N.-W. F. P.

RESOLUTION XVI. This Commission recommends that all the Universities in India be placed on the free distribution list of the Central Provincial State Governments regarding Resolutions at present and

Action taken by the Provincial Governments etc.

Remarks.

A note embodying the aims and objects of the proposed journal was circulated among the members of the Commission. As the comments received revealed substantial agreement with the scheme, the proposal was submitted to the Government of India. The reply is awaited.

The answer of the Government of Bombay was received too late to be placed before the 19th session. Out of 19 recommendations made, the Government of Bombay have recorded their entire agreement to ten. Seven proposals will be considered by them after the war and two did not appear to them to be acceptable. The bulk of the reply from the Government of India has sent another note on the basis of the reply from the Government of Bombay commenting on the merits of the action taken by them. These detailed reports will be placed before the members during the 20th Session.

Forwarded to the Government of Madras.

Forwarded to the Government of the U.P.

Forwarded to the Government of the U.P.

Forwarded to the Government of N.-W. F. P.

The following is the text of the observations of the Professor of Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras received through the Government of Madras: "As for a handlist of the MSS, a perfect handlist is provided by H. H. Wilson's Catalogue and a very ill arranged confusing list by Taylor's Catalogue. Rationale (c-1856). But the trouble is that the present state of the collection does not accord with Wilson's list and it has been one of our main purposes so to correlate our proposed guide with Wilson's list that a student can see at a glance which of Wilson's entries are traceable in the extant collection and which not." For the observations of the Government of the U. P. on the Resolutions see remarks against Resolution IX.

It is not at all clear whether any progress has been made in the compilation of the "proposed guide" to the collection.

The Government of N.-W. F. P. inform that important preoccupations in connection with the war have prevented them from establishing a Central Records Office.

Resolution XVI—*contd.*
such of their publications as are and would be for sale.

RESOLUTION XVII. This Commission recommends to the Government of India the establishment in Delhi or any other suitable place a repair room for records equipped with the latest device for dealing with old documents and to make it available for such use and help as may be required by the Provincial Governments, Indian States and Public.

RESOLUTION XVIII. Resolved that no action be taken.

RESOLUTION XIX. This Commission recommends to the Government of Assam that they should establish a Records Office and provide necessary facilities for research work there to such *bongside* students as may seek them.

RESOLUTION XX. This Commission recommends to the Portuguese Government in India the revival and continuance of the Archive Portuguese Oriental which has been discontinued.

RESOLUTION XXI. This Commission recommends to the Government of India that early steps be taken for a proper examination of the records of the pre-Mutiny period in the custody of the British Residences and those which are not of confidential character be published and thrown open to the *bongside* research scholars.

Orders of the Government of India.
considers the time inappropriate for referring it to the Provincial Governments.

The Government of India propose to consider the question after the machinery has been installed.

Forwarded to the Government of Assam.

Forwarded to the Portuguese Government in India.

His Excellency the Crown Representative has been pleased to throw open his records up to 1880 in the custody of the British Residences in India to *bongside* research scholars. The Residents in India have been instructed to frame rules regarding the access to the records in their custody in the lines of the Imperial Record Department (Historical Research) Rules so far as they could be relevantly utilised.

In view of the need for economy both in money and paper the question of publishing historical records in the custody of the British Residences will be considered on a more suitable occasion after the war.

Action taken by the Provincial Governments etc.

Remarks.

The order for the machinery was placed in U. S. A. but it is understood that the supplies would not be obtained till the end of War.

No action is called for.

The Government of Assam do not propose to implement the resolution during the present emergency.

HISTORICAL EXHIBITION.

28TH DECEMBER 1942, NINETEENTH SESSION.

The opening ceremony of the Historical Exhibition was held on the 28th December, 1942 in the Council Chamber at 4-30 P.M. The Exhibition which was held in the adjoining Law College Hall was declared open by Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. The Honourable Sir Jogendra Singh, the President and Mr. John Sargent, M.A., O.I.E., Chairman of the Research and Publication Committee were also present.

Inviting the Dewan to open the Exhibition Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan, M.A. (Oxon.), Pro-Vice-Chancellor gave the following speech.

SPEECH OF RAJYASEVAPRAVINA C. V. CHANDRASEKHARAN.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my privilege and my very pleasant duty as the Chairman of the Local Committee to welcome Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar and you all here this evening and to invite Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar to declare the Exhibition of the Indian Historical Records open. Since the Historical Records Commission was instituted, an exhibition has been a regular feature of its annual session. In former years, this exhibition used to be conducted directly by the Government of India. But a few years ago in 1937 I believe the Government of India relieved itself of the responsibility of conducting the historical exhibition. Incidentally, it relieved itself of the expense of conducting such exhibitions and the task of organising the exhibition of historical records has fallen upon the local agency in that particular Province or State in which the annual sessions of the Historical Commission are held. The Local Committee has been doing its best to collect a very representative selection of exhibits from different parts of India. In this matter we have been very greatly assisted by the Government of India and by the Government of Travancore and may I add, by the personal interest which our Dewan has taken in the matter.

I am glad to be able to tell you that we have received very interesting and valuable exhibits from the Government of India Imperial Record Department, Punjab Record Office, Jodhpur State, Baroda, Cochin State, Mysore University, Annamalai University, Travancore University, Deccan College, Poona, C. P. Research Society, Nagpur, Cannad Research Institute, Dharwar and the Travancore Government. I may add that we have received very interesting and valuable exhibits from the private collection of our Dewan. From Baroda we have received from the private library of Sir V. T. Krishnamachari Dewan of Baroda, his copy of Ras Mala, a famous work on the History of Gujarat. In the Baroda collection, you will find a very interesting exhibit, a Marathi newspaper of the year 1867 which contains an article on Travancore.

The Government of India Record Department has been of the greatest assistance to us and has given us the fullest co-operation. They have sent us more than 200 records which have been arranged in 10 or 11 sections. A student of history will find many of these records of the greatest interest.

Among the Cochin records I would draw your attention to the original Dutch and Portuguese letters written on very picturesque hand-made paper selected from the Central Record Office. Then, treaties between Cochin and Travancore in the 18th Century A. D. photographic reproductions of the original Olas which form the basis of these treaties.

Now with regard to the contribution of Travancore, I did not say anything because I am sure our Dewan is far more competent to speak about them. But I would like to mention here that the Travancore University has made a very valuable contribution to the records of the State. It is a matter of good fortune that only a week ago the University was able to secure the well-known collection which had been in the possession of the Peruvettu Mudaliar of South Travancore. It is a famous collection which the Government of Travancore had been trying to secure for many years and had failed. Where the Government have failed, the University have succeeded.

Coming to our own records, I would like to mention one or two points. Most of them are in cadjan or palm leaf, paper was introduced for regular official correspondence only as late as 1873 and our most valuable historical records are in cadjan or palm leaf. Of course cadjan is a very good material for preservation and our records of the greatest historical value are in cadjan and are preserved in the Mathilakam under the direct control of the Palace. Records in the Huzur Office are more recent and modern in character. They relate to the various administrative developments in the 16th and 19th centuries. The Government of Travancore have not been unmindful of their responsibility for the preservation of records and their publication and for making them accessible to the student of history. A special staff was appointed for listing and indexing the records in the Mathilagam and Huzur Office. This work is very near completion. Two important volumes of records have been published which are of interest and importance to the student of history. A third volume is awaiting publication which deals with the earlier period of 13th and 14th centuries. We shall be glad to get the assistance and guidance of this authoritative body—the Historical Commission and of Dr. S. N. Sen, the Keeper of the Records who is very willing to help us in training the men both for the University and the Government for the preservation of records, and the publication of indexes, calendars, etc. (cheers). In this connection I would like to invite your attention to one section of the Government of India exhibits which illustrate the various methods adopted by the Government of India for the protection of records against insects, fungi and atmospheric



SACHIVOTTAMA SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR, K. C. S. I., K. C. I. E., LI.,
DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE

words and with the hope that the Government and the University will be able to make substantial progress in the matter of making records accessible to students of history, I have great pleasure in requesting you, Sir, to declare this Exhibition open. Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar is well known to all of you and to the members of the Commission. He is the most outstanding personality in India today and is not merely the Dewan of this State. He requires no introduction from me and I am sure that I am voicing the feelings of every one present when I say that it is our singular good fortune that we have been able to secure his services in this matter (cheers).

SPEECH OF SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar, Dewan of Travancore, in declaring the Indian Historical Records Exhibition open, said as follows:—

Mr. President and members of the Historical Records Commission, Ladies and Gentlemen. My first duty on this occasion is to renew and to re-emphasise the words of welcome that fell from His Highness' lips this morning with reference to the visit and the sojourn amongst us of the members of this Commission. As I was coming into this room, I heard on the radio of another attempt made this morning at bombing Calcutta. Hearing that news my mind went back to the words of the Roman poet *Inter Arma Silent Leges* which mean that amidst the clash of arms the laws are silent. *Prima facie* not only the laws but the unmartial labours of students and research workers might be regarded as superfluous. But so to declare, so to resign ourselves to these impacts of fate were to be unworthy of our past and unworthy of our destiny. It is but appropriate that a band of research workers and the students like those who have gathered here today continue their labours unmoved by that clash of arms fully cognisant of the implications of that dreadful struggle through which the World is passing but determined nevertheless to play their part in things relating to mind and spirit which are not so ephemeral as the passions and the prejudice and the brutality of a debased humanity. Perhaps even for the conduct of wars and certainly by way of assistance to Post-war Reconstruction these labours may be of special utility. It is in that spirit that I renew that welcome to the members of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

My friend Mr. C. V. Chandrasekharan with pardonable though embarrassing pride in his Dewan has characterised me by epithets which might perhaps be excused after a sumptuous dinner, but at this moment were slightly inappropriate. I reject the theory of my coming before you as one entitled to speak with any authority on the matters that you will deal with. I have been a humble student of history for many years and quite recently on account of the labours of men like Mr. Oolloor Paramaswara Aiyer, Mr. Puduval and on account of the ready and willing assistance of my own colleagues in the Secretariat like the Chief Secretary and Mr. Kunjan Pillai to whom my indebtedness is great, I have sought for the purpose of this afternoon's talk to collate some of the records relating to Travancore in as much as I believe that such a collation may be of importance not only in reconstructing the history of this State and other parts of India but in realising how close-knit are the various portions of India and indeed of the World at large.

But before I make those observations let me invite your attention to that epitome of history which is contained in the supplementary catalogue containing a list of coins in the possession of Travancore State. You will find from it that therein is inscribed much of European and Indian history. Dynasty after dynasty, race after race, country after country, is represented in these exhibits which will be open to the members tomorrow at the Museum. You will find coins, Venetian sequins, Russian roubles, Kushan and Greek coins and the Gupta, Rashtrakuta, Maurya and Chera, Chola, Pandya, Hoysala, Yadava, Kashmir and South Indian dynasties represented as also the ruling families of many European countries, Persia, Holland and Denmark, Indo-French, Indo-Danish, Indo-Portuguese, British, French, Austrian coins are also represented and a complete selection of the very old coins as well ranging over two centuries.

Bishop Stubbs writing a letter to a historian friend of his declared that history was a pack of lies. Another well known scholar of England known as a witty and epigrammatical essayist, Birrell, calls it a 'great dust heap'. Well, so to declare is to put only one side before the World. The fact however remains that it is worthwhile rummaging those dust heaps and analyse these lies. What do these lies mean and connote? A particular historian, a particular chronicler, a diarist, a memoir writer says something advantageous to himself or his country oburgatory of another country, critical of everybody's methods and lives excepting his own. But nevertheless what he has written is symptomatic of his times, of his epoch, of his personality and therefore even without his meaning it and chance in spite of himself he is making history and writing history. He tells lies, but behind these lies many truths are found and that is why modern scholars and modern historical research workers concentrate on memoirs, on diaries, on account books, letters and fugitive documents and not only on set chronicles and formal histories as we understand them. Take the books that we read many years ago. The modern historians cite Tacitus and his uniform censure of Nero as a conspicuous instance of historical partiality. Recently I have been reading treatises which exculpate Nero and even contest the theory that he fiddled when Rome was burning. They aver that the legend is both anachronistic and defamatory. Take again for instance Gibbon's treatment of Christianity which is well known to be biased and overdrawn and the school histories of England and especially of India which we had the misfortune to pore over during our pupillage. It was my misfortune,

shared by many unoffending young persons to read a book called Sinclair's History. The list of inaccuracies and terminological inexactitudes, exaggerations and wholly futile propaganda was a painfully long one and successive generations of Indian students were treated to this history with results which I cannot but describe as calamitous because they started with the assumption that Indians were cowards and liars and thousands of them fled at the sight of a few European soldiers. Faithfulness and loyalty and patriotism were denied to all who did not side with Bussy, Duplex, Clive or Warren Hastings, all of whom were heroes but also unscrupulous and fundamentally immoral personages. Generally the idea was that eastern civilisation were purposeless and base. Macaulay declared, "Burn all Mahabharat and Ramayna, half a page of Shakespeare is more precious than all the tiresome stuff of Indian literatures." A fictitious importance was ascribed to the never-ending quarrels of petty European States and to their dynastic ambitions and exhibitions of personal religious intolerance and even to their frailties. All this has led to an inevitable reaction resulting in a foolish dispraise of everything European and even in an antagonism to the great European contribution to culture and life. We hope that we have come to a new era when history is read and interpreted differently. It is in that spirit that I would detain you for a few moments and in this task, I for one, would join Bolingbroke when he describes history as philosophy teaching by example. It is the collection of such examples that is the task of this Commission.

From such a point of view, let us consider those records which are now exhibited in the Exhibition Hall which you are presently going to visit. At the outset, I may preface my observations by the remark that we are lucky in some respects. In Travancore there has been a definite continuity of history. We have never been invaded and conquered by foreigners during the last 2,000 or 2,500 years and we have two other features, namely, the one not only has our history been continuous but the temples have been centres of life and of art and have preserved their monuments. In addition, we have a unique and remarkable feature, namely, that along with the endowments to temples, gifts to churches and to Muslims were made by our Maharajas with equal liberality and with no discrimination. They also have been centres of life and thought in the State. The friendliness between the Hindu and the Muslim and the comradeship of the Hindu and the Christian have been ever present in this State, and that background is necessary in order fully to appreciate the few remarks that I am permitting myself to make.

I am basing my observations on an analysis of the records which have been recently examined and which are maintained in the temple.

In the year 1750 this State was, as stated by our worthy President, dedicated to the God Sri Padmanabha by the Great Maharaja Marthanda Varma, who having conquered and consolidated the various portions of the State, made a dedication of the whole country to the Deity and regarded himself from that moment as a Viceroy of that Deity. The story is not a mere legend. Even to this date, every morning His Highness goes to the temple, the idea being that he receives the command for the day for the administration of the State at the hands of the Deity enshrined in Sri Padmanabha's temple. It was realised that the Maharaja or the sovereign was responsible for the spiritual as well as the material welfare of the people under his sway. The same idea in fact animates or is embodied by the assumption by the Rulers of the designation of Kulasekharaperumal. Such an assumption was similar to the assumption by the King of England of the title *Fidei Defensor*. This title of Kulasekharaperumal was taken by the sovereigns of this country as a symbol and a sign that they were devotees of the Great God Sri Vishnu. It must not also be forgotten that one of the ancestors of the Maharaja has been canonised, and he is one of the Alvars who have interpreted God to man and whose mellifluous hymns are sung in every temple in South India from time to time.

The public accounts of this State are continuous from the beginning of the seventeenth century. The records of Land Administration are also continuous from that day to this. It was at the end of the 16th century that the Maharaja of the day, in order to see that the land settlement was well conducted and to witness the state of the people under his reign, went on extensive tours. There is an account embodied in one of the documents which you will see of his getting into the boat and travelling in the country for the purpose of inspecting the territories himself.

As early as 1784 the great irrigation work of Kodayar Dam which afterwards fell into ruins and had to be renovated was started. The new reservoir was constructed only about 60 years ago. And it will be interesting to note from document No. 12 that the exports and imports of the period in this maritime State which is now getting a revenue of one crore of rupees from this source, while the land revenue is within forty lakhs, were regulated and accurate accounts statistically elaborated are in existence.

The Postal or Anchal Department in the State was organised long even before Warren Hastings' time. It was in 1755 that the Anchal Department which has continued from strength to strength from that day to this was organised.

Naturally, living in times of stress and strain, army demands exacted their attention. Records about recruitment and the maintenance of the army you will see in plenty. Records showing army manœuvres, those showing the movement of the artillery, records relating to wars with the Zamorin of Calicut and the supply of provisions and weapons are all exhibited. It will be seen that careful thought had been paid to the supply of ghee to those who consumed it. Manufacture of gunpowder at Alleppey is also provided for. The capture of Tippu's flag is a story which I may repeat. Tippu wished to invade Travancore

Travancore. The breaking of his leg and the taking of his flag are two substantial facts, which had important repercussions in Travancore history. Document No. 22 refers to the capture of the standard of Tippu the colours of his flag taken and the emblems and so forth. Orders given to the officers to keep the flag in safe custody are contained in one of the records. In connection with the wars a wall, something like the Great Wall of China, was constructed as a kind of bastion or rampart in the Northern part of Travancore and the building and manning of the forts of Udayagiri, Trivandrum and Vattakottai are also dealt with in the records.

It has been one of the singular pieces of good fortunes attendant upon the history of Travancore that education has been one of the primary concerns of this State. We have the good fortune today in common with our sister State of Cochin, of leading India (both British India and Indian States) in the matter of men's and women's education. But it must not be forgotten that the foundations were laid very early. In Chengannur in 1769 a school was established by command of the Sovereign. It was 50 years later that a talented regent, Queen Parvati Rani, practically inaugurated the system of opening dispensaries and schools in this State. She said that in every unit of territory there should be enough schools and dispensaries. It is in that spirit that the policy of the State has been functioning and it has been attended with the results which are now noteworthy, mainly because of the operation of this long career of school-building and instruction which started, as I said, in 1750 or 60. There was a grant for the teaching of the Dutch language in 1756. At that time the Dutch were very predominant in Cochin and the Dutch language was the European language which was nearest so far as Travancore was concerned. The English and the French had not come near Travancore at that time. About 1830 a grant was given for the compilation of a Malayalam-English Dictionary: The Law College here was started in 1869. The minimum qualifications for Government appointments were laid down in 1823. Allopathic physicians were appointed as early as 1890 and the Observatory was established in 1838. Heads of Departments to supervise Excise, Commerce and Police functions began to function from 1800. In addition to grants to temples, grants to churches were also made from 1800 following the tradition of tolerance which I have already alluded to.

And now I come to what may be called the external aspects of the policy of the State. There is a document dated the 4th January 1851 relating to the payment of wages for the construction of a small boat on the model of the Valloms in the backwaters in this country to be sent to England because the King of England desired a replica of the type of boat used in the backwaters. In 1862 the American Civil War was in progress. The result of it was that industry in England suffered a setback. The weaving industry suffered greatly and "as a result of the war that went on in America"—I am quoting from a document containing orders of the Maharaja of the time—"there has been great suffering among the weaving classes in England owing to unemployment and in relief of this, and as we understand that contributions are being collected from England and India for their welfare and as we are satisfied that we should also contribute to this relief fund, the Huzur Treasury Officer is hereby directed to pay a sum of Rs. 15,000 calculated at the rate of 7½ Fanams per rupee through the Resident."

A document of 1824 refers to the arrival of three ships belonging to the Sultan of Arabia carrying rock salt in exchange of cardamom from this country. I have striven in a cursory way to give an account of some of the interesting documents which we are placing before you for your examination. I do not propose, nor have I the time nor the equipment for dealing with the exhibits from elsewhere, although among the exhibits of the Government of India, you will find a letter signed by the Maharaja of Travancore addressed to the then Viceroy. Very many Universities and Governments have kindly contributed to make the exhibition very representative. And now let me end as I began by saying that these documents, these accounts, these inscriptions, these cadjan and paper records are human documents of the utmost value and the utmost significance. The fates of individual rulers or nations and the fates of particular campaigns are, when history is unrolled as a whole, of little import. What matters is the surging and the play of the human spirit, the striving and the tribulations and triumphs of the human soul. As records of these efforts, as records of all that the human spirit has undergone and has endeavoured to achieve these documents are of value not only to the students of history but to those who are engaged in the eternal, ever recurrent tasks of dealing with fellow men in a spirit of comprehension, of unity, of tolerance and the consciousness that history has lessons which we would be foolish to ignore if the progress of man is to be made happier and essentially different from that tortuous and painful affair which recent history has made of it. May it be given to scholars like you, may it be given to the coming generations of scholars to achieve those formative and creative results which it would be the glory of history to record in the future and which would at least help us to see things and events in proper proportion and perspective.

Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer was then followed by the members of the Commission and the public to the Exhibition Hall.

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A Little Known Phase in the Career of Chanda Sahib (1741-48).

[By Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari, M. A.]

Chanda Sahib was confirmed by Dost Ali in 1736 as the Governor of Trichinopoly and the dependent regions. Meanwhile, Safdar Ali and Mr Asad, the Diwan of the Nawab, had become jealous of Chanda Sahib's power as he had worked against the former's succession to the Nawabship and secretly negotiated with the Marathas, inviting their invasion without the knowledge of the Nawab.¹

The object of Safdar Ali and Mr Asad was frustrated because Dost Ali, they presumed, would shut himself up in Arcot or Vellore and allow the invaders to pass, according to previous compact, to the pretended attack of both Safdar Ali and Chanda Sahib and really leave the former free to tackle with the latter. Contrary to their expectations, Dost Ali took the field with a small force and perished in battle with the Marathas at Dámalcheruvu (May, 1740) before either Chanda Sahib or Safdar Ali (then at Tanjore) who were both summoned to rush to his help, could join him. Safdar Ali had advanced as far as Arcot when he heard the news of his father's death, and in fear of his own safety, he shut himself up in Vellore and tried to negotiate with the Marathas through the medium of Diwan Mr Asad, who had fallen into their hands in the battle. The Marathas quickly perceived that any price might now be exacted by them from Safdar Ali by the simple threat of selling themselves to Chanda Sahib.

Chanda Sahib accompanied Safdar Ali to Arcot and then, with the latter's permission, conducted his forces to Trichinopoly. As the Maratha army marched out of the Carnatic, Chanda Sahib was deceived by appearances and sold off the provisions which he had accumulated in his fort. The wily Marathas remained quiet during October and November and pretended to be busy making terms with the Nawab about the tribute due to them.

The siege of Trichinopoly by the Marathas began about the middle of December 1740. By March 1741, Chanda Sahib found himself unable to hold out any longer.²

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1. This invasion is stated by Orme to have been instigated by the Nizam. But this is not likely as he was then absent at Delhi and he had subsequently to proceed to the Carnatic on a prolonged punitive expedition to restore order after the confusion created by the Marathas. The Peishwa and his brother Chimnaji had been slowly developing the policy of 'pushing Maratha conquests in the south and Babuji Nayak who had claims on the Karnatak based on a grant of a *mamlu* to him, supported the expedition. Shahu himself proceeded as far as Miraj and directed Fateh Singh towards Arcot and Tanjore.
 2. Ranga Pillai, the Diarist, relates, under date 27th March 1741, how his younger brother Bade Sahib who was in charge of Madura and was advancing

Trichinopoly was entrusted to the charge of Murari Rao and Chanda Sahib and his son were sent close prisoners to Satara in the neighbourhood of which they were confined in a strong fort.

The practical extinction of the Nawayat family of Nawabs and the rise into power of Anwaru'd-din were very galling to Dupleix, and the French who had been greatly befriended by them. The leading Nawayat nobles and killedars were soon thinking of Chanda Sahib's release and of utilising him as a rival to the new Nawab whose rule was not popular and did not take deep root in the country.

Chanda Sahib had agreed to pay a ransom of eight lakhs of rupees but as his wife who was at Pondicherry, insisted on his being released before any money was paid at all, he and his son, Abid Sahib, were carried off to Satara as prisoners. Chanda Sahib remained in the custody of the Marathas till about the early part of 1748. But his captivity seems to have been of a general kind. Cultru held, however, that he was released even in 1745 without any sort of French intervention.³

Early during his captivity, even before a year elapsed, Chanda Sahib seems to have got the favour of Fatah Singh and become his good friend; and the latter was very jealous of Murari Rao, who had become the governor of Trichinopoly. Nasir Jung seems also to have countenanced Chanda Sahib at this time. He was then very influential with his father, Nizamul-Mulk, having become reconciled to him after his rebellion. Even as early as September 1741, it was given out in the Carnatic by Chanda Sahib's partisans that he would be made Nawab of the Carnatic by Nizamul-Mulk and be assisted even by the Marathas to overthrow Safdar Ali.

to the relief of Trichinopoly with provisions and troops was intercepted near Dindigul by a Maratha attack and later routed and killed at Manaparni in battle by Raghuj Bhonsle. In this battle and in the operations round Trichinopoly, we note from the Diarist Ananda Ranga Pillai, how the Pindaris participated and how they and the *poligns* and the *kullars* of Tondaman scaled the walls of Trichinopoly on all sides on the 25th of March and compelled Chanda Sahib to submit at midnight of the same day and made him prisoner. Orme distinctly says that Chanda Sahib delivered up the city of Trichinopoly and himself on the 26th of March 1741, though in one place, the Madras Records mention the 23rd as the date of his fall.

3. Negotiations were going on between the Marathas and the Nawayat relations of Chanda Sahib even before 1741 as to his release. Dupleix was informed by Chanda Sahib, according to Cultru, that Balaji Rao's nephew had paid several lakhs of rupees on his behalf to Raghuj Bhonsle and he had also promised to give suitable presents to the Nizam for securing his countenance for his release and departure and that Raghuj Bhonsle had given him leave of departure. But Chanda Sahib seems to have continued in Maratha captivity as both the Pondicherry Council and Ranga Pillai bear testimony to the fact of his captivity in the years 1746 and 1747. It was perhaps that the promise of release was only conditional and Chanda Sahib wrote of promises as accomplished facts. It might also have been that he only exchanged Raghuj Bhonsle for Balaji Rao as his jailor.
4. For the enmity of Safdar Ali to Chanda Sahib, see *Calendar of the Madras Records 1740-44*. Letters Nos. 9 & 133, dated respectively January 7, 1740 and May 4, 1740 and No. 51 dated February 4, 1741.

As a result of this new situation, there was brought about an understanding between Fatéh Singh and Chanda Sahib, who was keen on the securing of the Carnatic Nawabship for himself and Nasir Jang who was acting for his father as against Safdar Ali and Murari Rao.⁵

Dupleix, however, did not interest himself greatly in these rumours. In fact, he wrote to the French Company even as late as the 2nd of October 1744, that Anwaru'd-din who had recently become Nawab only in March of that year, was a good and peaceable ruler and that Murtaza Ali of Vellore and Taqi Sahib of Wandiwash, both of them *beau-frères* of Chanda Sahib, had been plotting with the Marathas against the new Nawab and that Chanda Sahib himself was consciously encouraging them with a view to his own elevation. Dupleix further added in that letter that he regarded that Anwaru'd-din was the true and legitimate Nawab of Arcot.⁶

Dupleix's early attitude towards Anwaru'd-din has not been hitherto generally stressed. The aged Nizam had also perhaps come to suspect Anwaru'd-din of complicity in the death of the boy-prince, son of Safdar Ali, and to learn of the continued prevalence of disorder in the Carnatic under his rule. He had also perhaps begun to take Chanda Sahib seriously. From the Madras Records⁷, we learn that as Anwaru'd-din was sick at the time and the Marathas were threatening to invade the land, he intended to remove the Nawab from the office, having received offers from 'another' (? perhaps Chanda Sahib). "It would agree with his nature to accept them, for he already sells the Northern Provinces yearly to the highest bidders." Perhaps Anwaru'd-din's growing weakness, unpopularity and loss of favour with the Nizam had effected a change of attitude in Dupleix sometime previously to this date, because we find that in March 1745, according to Ananda Ranga Pillai, he lent Khan Bahadur, the son-in-law of Chanda Sahib, 1,000 rupees and applied at the same time to the Superior Council for the sanction of a loan of a large amount to Chanda Sahib, as there was the likelihood of his being helped by the Nizam to the throne of Arcot and of the consequent easy recovery of the amount. On the 12th of April 1745, the question of authorising a loan of 240,000 livres was discussed

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5. Thus we learn from the Madras Records "Despatch to the Company February 4, 1742, Public Despatches to England Vol. XIII", that Safdar Ali was still not confirmed in his office by the Nizam and Chanda Sahib's partisans were spreading alarming rumours as to his expected return with a Maratha army.
 6. The French Company flung this letter of Dupleix against him when, some years later, Dupleix declared that it was Anwaru'd-din that had cleverly secured the death of the boy-prince, Muhammad Saiyid, son of Safdar Ali, or was mainly responsible for his assassination and therefore that Chanda Sahib, as the representative of the Nawayat family, was morally the rightful heir to the Nawabi even if Anwaru'd-din should have been confirmed. The Company included his previous letter of October 1744 in their *Memorandum. Mémoire contre Dupleix, 1763* : *Pieces Justificatives*, p. 7.
 7. Despatch from Governor Morse to the Company dated January 31, 1746.

by the Conseil Supérieur. Prof. Dubreuil conjectures that there might be a probable error as regards the date of its discussion by the Council, which certainly took place in the Council on the 4th of May 1745, for which however, no actual record is now available, except the reply of the Company, dated 17-2-1747.*

This reply of the Company approved the resolution of the Superior Council to sanction a loan to Chanda Sahib to help in his liberation and to induce the Nizam to replace Anwaru'd-din by him at Arcot. Thus we know clearly that in the years 1745-47, Nizam-ul-Mulk was entertaining ideas of displacing Anwaru'd-din from the Nawabship and of replacing him by Chanda Sahib, that the latter was still unable to pay the required ransom to the Marathas and that the Council of Pondicherry had on Dupleix's recommendations taken an interest in the question of securing Chanda Sahib's release.

In July 1747 two letters reached Pondicherry from Chanda Sahib still at Satara, one addressed to the Governor and the other to the Diarist, Ananda Ranga Pillai. They tell us that Chanda Sahib had been duly informed of Dupleix's promise to arrange to pay one lakh of rupees, evidently to the Marathas, as soon as he should be allowed to leave Satara, a second lakh when he should reach Cuddapah and a third lakh when he should reach Arcot; it also informs us that Rs. 10,000 would be given to Jayaram Pandit who had been negotiating with Maharajah Shahu and Raghujii Bhonsle, if he should succeed in bringing him safe to Arcot. Dupleix had thus promised Chanda Sahib three lakhs of rupees, whereas only one lakh had been sanctioned by the Superior Council.* In the early months of 1748 Chanda Sahib was certainly released and allowed to depart from Satara. A letter as to his coming down was written about the middle of May and reached Pondicherry in July. About the same time Murtaza Ali Khan became busy collecting troops at Vellore to challenge Anwaru'd-din and to seize the *subah* of Arcot; and the old Nawab had gone into residence at Gingee, while great

8. Correspondence du Conseil Supérieur de Pondichery et de la Compagnie, tome IV, p. 447, no 147.

9. The conditions of Chanda Sahib's release are described, as known in Pondicherry, by Ananda Ranga Pillai, in his entry for July 14, 1748. (Vol. V, p. 97). A comment may be made that there is much that is obscure in these. Who supplied the funds for the ransom? The French were then quarrelling with Chanda Sahib's people over moneys due to them. The Diarist mentions diamonds being sent to Chanda Sahib from Trichinopoly, presumably by his wife; but they were regarded as not completing the full sum. He informs us, at a subsequent place, that Chanda was actually released by the intercession of Shahu Raji's wife, from the custody of Raghujii Bhonsle by a promise to pay him Rs. 210,000, including the jewels set with diamonds that had been despatched shortly before. A letter received from Chanda Sahib about two months previous to this date says that his affairs had been settled, thanks to Dupleix's message sent by Jayaram Pandit. Raghujii's *unkil*, while news received at the same time as this letter reported Chanda Sahib to be south of the Krishna with 12,000 horse. Dupleix hoped that he would move rapidly towards the coast and drive Boscawen from Pondicherry which he was then attacking.

Prof. Dubreuil, in his latest book, *Dupleix (Bicentenaire-1741-1941)*

confusion prevailed at Arcot. Murtaza Ali justified himself by saying that his preparations were only directed against his own disobedient brother, Raza Ali Khan, but his professions were not readily believed.

By the middle of July, it was known in Pondicherry that Chanda Sahib had crossed the Krishna with a very large body of horse, and Murtaza Ali had communicated to him certain proposals on their mutual co-operation: (1) that Chanda Sahib should receive Trichinopoly; (2) his son Abid Sahib should receive Gingee with the titles of Nawab and Faujdar and (3) Murtaza Ali Khan, Vellore. Muhammad Ali Khan of Polur, Chanda Sahib's elder brother, wished to seize for himself Arni and the Conjeevaram country. By August 1748, Chanda Sahib seems to have reached the country of Savanur-Bankapur, with a body of 12,000 Maratha horse; and it was feared that he would be marching into the Lower Carnatic in about a few weeks.

Now we come across a phase of Chanda Sahib's life that has not been hitherto very clear from any available source of information. These were days of intense danger for the French, as Pondicherry was subject to English attacks and Dupleix was very anxious that Chanda Sahib should be written to to come to the succour of the French. *Vakil* Subbian also wrote to the French Governor towards the end of August 1748 that Chanda Sahib would soon be coming to the Arcot country.

According to Ananda Ranga Pillai, Chanda Sahib wanted to send his eldest son, Abid Sahib, to the court of Nizamu'l-Mulk to treat with him for the transfer of the Carnatic (Entry for the 24th of January 1747); and we also learn from him that if the Nizam should be unwilling to do so, Balaji Rao himself would consent to help Chanda Sahib with a body of 30,000 horse on condition the latter should restore Hindu rule in the territories seized by him in recent years. Thus the restoration of Trichinopoly to Hindu rule was one of the conditions of Chanda Sahib's release by Balaji Rao at the time. If so, it would explain Nizamu'l-Mulk's likely opposition to the proposal for the elevation of Chanda Sahib, to which he gave a willing ear at first. After the French capture of Madras in September 1746, Dupleix and Chanda Sahib's relatives began to concert active measures for his liberation; but even now, Dupleix was unable to guarantee the ransom amount demanded, though he offered to act as the agent of the Marathas for its collection and remittance; and a few days later he advised Raza Sahib to assemble all the troops and men recruited by the different branches of his family and to fall upon Anwaru'd-din who was then lying sick at Arcot.

assures us that the Governor was expecting a most propitious moment for making a definite declaration on behalf of Chanda Sahib, throughout the year between May 1747 and May 1748. Perhaps he was waiting for the news of the death of the Nizam early in June 1748 to do so; and probably it was the rumour of his impending death that hastened the release of Chanda Sahib from his captivity.

It was perhaps impossible for Chanda Sahib to have marched, even if released, earlier than about the middle of 1747, because the Nizam and Nasir Jang lay encamped on his way south; moreover, Dupleix could not at all secure the necessary sum in cash; he himself had nowhere chosen to give more than vague general promises of his definite help on the question of a firm alliance with Chanda Sahib, before the latter's actual descent from the Deccan was known. In the French Company's *Memoire* against Dupleix, we find that an embassy was received by the French Governor in February 1748, that he then promised the assistance of a body of Europeans to place Chanda Sahib on the *musnud* of Arcot on the clear condition that he would grant the *jaghir* of Villiyannur which Dupleix had been long asking for from Nasir Jang.¹⁰ Dupleix, under the pretext of discharging his sepoys now that peace had been made with the English, sent them all to Chanda Sahib.¹¹

The movements of Chanda Sahib in the course of the year that elapsed between his release from the Marathas and his actual arrival in the Carnatic cannot be known very definitely. Dodwell believes that neither Orme nor Wilks has given a correct or continuous account of them. That Chanda Sahib was engaged in a campaign against Bednur, in the course of which he lost his son Abid Sahib in the battle of Chittrakal-Bamani is indeed certain. During a portion of this year Chanda Sahib was engaged against the ruler of Bednur to bring it to subjection to Muzaffar Jang and succeeded in extracting from him a tribute of 2½ lakhs of Rupees. The Diarist relates, under entry for September 27, 1749, that when Chanda Sahib was feasting at Pondicherry after his victory at Ambur he related to the Governor and Madame Dupleix all about his exploits after his escape from the Marathas, mentioning his fight at Chittrakal and his alliance with Muzaffar Jang, who had promised to give him the *subah* of Arcot. This account is rather unsatisfactory, inconsistent and meagre. The version given by Narayana Kone, in his *History of the Karnataka Governors*, is as follows: Muta Wassil Khan, Governor of Molhair, the son-in-law of Asaf Jah had told his son Hidayat Mohideen Khan "Nawab Asaf Jah had given over by deed the Karnatak *subah* and Hyderabad to my wife, (your mother). You go and seize the Carnatic with the help of Hussain Dost Khan (Chanda Sahib), who is now in prison in Poona and whose release I would secure". Hussain Dost Khan was consequently released through Muta Wassil Khan's intercession and brought over to Bijapur or Adoni and it was settled that both Muzaffar Jang and Chanda Sahib should proceed with a body of 20,000 horse, a park of artillery and 50,000 troops, to the plain of Kolar in the first instance.¹² This version does not make any mention of the

10. In his letter of 29th January 1749, Dupleix announced to the Company his intention to aid Chanda Sahib (*Memoire contre Dupleix*: *Pieces Justificatives*, p. 9.)
11. Despatch from Governor Floyer to the English Company from Fort St. David, October 18, 1749.
12. *Histoire Detaille des Rois du Carnatic* par Narayanam Poulle. (1939), pp. 210-212. — also section 8 — *The History of the Karnataka Governors*: Tamil original from the Mackenzie Collection.

Bednur-Chitaldrug affair, nor does it show the mutual time sequence of Chanda Sahib's fighting in Bednur and his alliance with Muzaffar Jang.

Orme, Wilks and others following them tell us that Madakéri Nayaka of Chitaldrug, who was engaged in continual hostilities against Harpanahalli, Savanur, Bednur and the Marathas under Siddoji (or Hindu Rao, the father of Murari Rao secured the alliance of Chanda Sahib in 1748 but was defeated in the battle of Mayakonda and slain, in single combat on elephants by Somasékhara Nayak, the Harpanahalli chief. The battle was fought against the ruler of Bednur, who was assisted by the confederate forces of Royadrag, Harpanahalli and Savanur. Along with Madakéri Nayak, Chanda Sahib's son Abid Sahib, fell, and Chanda himself was taken prisoner by the Bednur troops. But though a prisoner Chanda made known his hopes and designs regarding the Nawabship of the Carnatic to the Mussalman officers of the Bednur troops and prevailed upon them to release him and join his own standard, leaving off the service of the Rani of Bednur. Wilks' version of this latter event differs slightly from that of Orme, but is based upon the local memoirs of Chitaldrug and Bednur and the information supplied by Badr-i-Zaman, who had heard from Chanda Sahib himself about these events. Then followed his march on the Carnatic in conjunction with Muzaffar Jang in the summer of 1749.

Home Government and the end of the Policy of Permanent Settlements in Madras — 1802 to 1818.

[By Dr. B. S. Puri, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)]

One legacy of the Cornwallis system of administration was the passion for permanency in land revenue settlements. And this passion which inspired the policies of the Madras Government in the early nineteenth century and which at one time threatened to overwhelm the whole of the Presidency was controlled effectually and removed only by the energetic intervention of the Court of Directors.

Not that the Directors were opposed to permanency from the first. In fact it was on their recommendation that the permanent settlement was introduced into the Northern Circars and the Jagire.¹ But the moment they found that it was a blunder they did not hesitate to discredit it. From 1802 to 1812 they doubted its efficacy; but from 1812 onwards they condemned it and expressly forbade its extension.

Even when the permanent settlement was being introduced into the Northern Circars they advised that it should not be extended to

1. Revenue Despatch from England dated 28th April 1795.

any district the real resources of which had not been ascertained. They prohibited its extension to Tanjore, Malabar, Canara and the Ceded Districts without their previous sanction, believing that the countries recently recovered from the ravages of war and internal disorders were most unfit to receive it.² They urged that a survey and record of rights, as had been advocated and carried out by Munro, were the prerequisites to any system of permanency,³ and considered that both in Bengal and in parts of Madras permanent settlements had been concluded without reference to the existing resources of the country. The depreciation of currency, then prevalent in England, suggested to them that fixed money rents were bound to affect the income of the state; the more so in a country like India where the land revenue was the primary source of public income. Further, though a special regulation had subjected the zamindars to prosecution in the Zilla Courts for any exactions practised on the ryots, they feared that the ryots might be intimidated, the pattas still not granted and, even if granted, their terms ignored by the zamindars.⁴

While the Directors, as a result of their wider experience and a careful study of the opinions of able officers like Munro, Read and Thackeray were thus advocating caution in extending the permanent settlement, the Government, on the advice of the Board of Revenue was actually contemplating elaborate plans for its extension. Lord William Bentinck alone of the early Madras Governors objected to the permanent settlement.⁵ The other Governors and the members of Board of Revenue strongly supported it. It was natural that Lord Clive, in whose tenure of office the permanent settlement was actually imported from Bengal to Madras, should uphold it. It was natural that Sir George Barlow who had done so much for the permanent settlement in Bengal should endeavour to further its cause in Madras. It was likewise natural that the ex-President of the Permanent Settlement Special Commission, William Petrie and its Secretary, John Hodgson, should, as members of the Board of Revenue or the Council also uphold permanency. No sooner, therefore, were the Northern Circars and the Western and Southern Palayams permanently settled than they devised plans for extending permanency to the other districts. Very soon however they realised that neither a permanent settlement with the zamindars nor a permanent settlement with the mittadars could be introduced in these districts, because there were no zamindars in these districts and because the creation of mittadars spelled nothing but a complete failure. But they were not deterred by these difficulties. In Tanjore

2. Revenue Despatch from England dated 21st July 1802, paras 3-4; dated 18th March 1803, paras 7-8; dated 14th September 1803, paras 1-2; dated 15th Feb 1804, para 9; and dated 10th April 1804, paras 8, 30, 35, 39, 40 and 41.

3. Revenue Despatch from England dated 24th August 1804, paras 24-27.

4. Revenue Despatch from England dated 6th November 1805, paras 5-11.

5. Revenue Despatch from England dated 6th November 1805, paras 12-17; Madras Regulation XXX of 1802.

6. Revenue Despatch from England dated 30th August 1809; Revenue Despatch to England dated 21st October 1806, paras 281-282.

they had discovered the mirasdars.⁷ These mirasdars or, where they did not exist, the village headmen, they thought, existed in almost all the non-permanently settled districts and it was with these that they proposed to conclude permanent settlements. The ryotwar settlements which by then had been introduced into Baramahal, Canara and the Ceded Districts did not meet with their entire approval. And they were totally opposed to making permanent settlements with individual ryots. The whole system whether temporary or permanent involved too much detail and engaged almost all the time of the Collectors. It was incompatible with the Cornwallis system of judiciary requiring, as it did, the Collectors and other revenue officials to resort frequently to the Courts and to attend to a whole host of legal formalities. They felt that necessary information on the resources of the country had already been obtained and that to wait any longer for this purpose, to institute a survey or to prepare a record of rights, would be to postpone permanency for ever. Permanency would encourage cultivation, would increase the wealth of the country and thereby would augment the other sources of revenue, like customs and excise. No more arguments were, in their opinion, needed in its support. It was with these ideas that the Board of Revenue urged and the Government approved the conclusion of decennial leases preparatory to permanency with the mirasdars of Tanjore and with the headmen of the villages of Cuddapah and the Northern and southern Division of Arcot. It was with the same ideas that they proposed to introduce such decennial leases in all the ryotwari districts.⁸

Fortunately, in these decennial leases permanency was made conditional on the sanction of the Court of Directors. And this gave the Directors an opportunity to frustrate the entire scheme. They expressed surprise at this sudden "unwarrantable" step. For they had ample evidence from Bengal to show that great errors had been committed by concluding permanent settlements. Similar settlements made in Madras had not proved successful. There was indeed little difference between the mittadari settlement which had woefully failed in Chingleput and Salem and the permanent village settlement which had been urged for general adoption. "The difference between the two systems appears to be in degree not in principle, both having a tendency to affect the interests, feelings and the rights of the small landed proprietors." Above all, the Patta Regulation which was intended for protecting the rights of the ryots had "almost become a dead letter" both in Bengal and in Madras. The zamindars had habitually disregarded the regulation and the mirasdars

7. Board's Consultations Nos. 9-10 dated 5th July 1807; Revenue Consultations No. 258 dated 4th December 1807 and No. 244 dated 27th November 1807.

8. General Report of the Board—Volume 5 dated 5th October 1808, pages 170-178; Board's Consultations No. 11 dated 25th April 1808, Nos. 17-18 dated 4th February 1808, Nos. 21-23 dated 11th July 1808 and No. 2 dated 1st August 1808; Revenue Despatch to England dated 24th October 1808, paras 59-76; General Report of the Board—Volume 6 dated 30th January 1812, pages 127-152; Board's Consultations No. 12 dated 9th May 1811, No. 14 dated 1st July 1811 and No. 18 dated 13th January 1812; Revenue Despatch to England dated 29th February 1812, paras 195-256.

and the village headmen who had been required to grant pattas to the ryots might likewise do the same. It was chimerical to expect that the ryots would seek and obtain prompt justice in distant courts over-burdened with suits. The alleged inconsistency between the ryotwar and the existing judicial system "is an objection which may be brought against a Zamindari or village system". The only difference was that, while under the ryotwar system the obstructions occasioned by the nature of the judicial process to the realisation of the public revenue were experienced by the Collectors, under other systems this inconvenience was transferred to the zamindars, mirasdars or village headmen. As to the details, the details must, in every revenue system, be carried on by somebody. The question was whether it had better be carried on by the Collectors or the zamindars and others. Alike in Baramahal, Canara and the Ceded Districts, Munro had not found his administration impeded by the details of the ryotwar system. Moreover the details were involved chiefly in concluding the jamabandi and once the jamabandi was over the collection went on by itself. For these reasons the Directors expressly forbade the extension of permanency and ordered that as soon as the decennial leases expired, the ryotwar settlements should be concluded in the various districts.⁹

But, even after the receipt of these orders, the Government did not change their opinion. They clung to their scheme of permanent village settlements; they elaborated its virtues in two long despatches hoping to convert the Court of Directors.¹⁰ But in vain. The Directors stood firm and the Government therefore was compelled to abandon once for all the policy of permanency and to conclude ryotwar settlements on the expiry of the village leases.¹¹

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9. Revenue Despatch from England dated 16th December 1812, paras 3-47.
 10. Revenue Despatch to England dated 25th August 1813, paras 1-20 and dated 12th August 1814, paras 1-30.
 11. Revenue Despatch from England dated 12th April 1815, paras 57-80 and 113-125; Board's Minute dated 5th January 1818; Revenue Consultations No. 692 dated 29th December 1818, paras 292-306; General Report of the Board—Volume 9 dated 25th January 1819, pages 139 seq.; Volume 10 dated 3rd January 1820, page 233. seq.

The Beginnings of the Danish Settlements in India.

[By the Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J. and Mr. G. M. Moraes, M. A.]

Of the maritime European nations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Denmark was the fourth to turn its wistful eyes on the Indies. Although like the others, the Danes too were impelled by the natural desire to share in the rich profits that the eastern trade conferred, unlike them they had a further reason in that they were actually invited by an indigenous prince to fight against an European Power with which he was at war. For this was the time when the Portuguese were making a bid for the complete sovereignty of Ceylon. In the kingdom of Jaffna they were successfully exploiting the troubles consequent on the succession passing to a minor¹. In the kingdom of Kandy, where King Wimala Dharma had died after a life-long struggle for maintaining his independence against them, and had been succeeded by his brother Senaratena or Senarat, the situation was equally critical. An offensive and defensive alliance concluded with the Dutch in 1609 had produced nothing beyond further rousing the enmity of the Portuguese. They had repeatedly ravaged the country, and on two occasions marched within the reach of the capital itself².

It was thus in 1615, when he was hard pressed by the enemy that Senaratena dispatched a Dutchman named Marcellus Boschouwer to Holland to obtain assistance from the Dutch. He set sail on 9th May, 1615, and after vainly entreating the Dutch authorities first at Masulipatam and thereafter at Bantam in Java, he made his way to Europe to negotiate with Holland or some other European Power. He met with the same refusal in Holland, and hearing of the forthcoming Danish expedition to India, he turned to Copenhagen, arriving there on 16th June, 1617³.

This expedition was the result of a scheme set on foot by a few Danish and Dutch merchants at Copenhagen for a Danish East Asiatic Company. King Christian IV was personally interested in the venture, and accordingly, a charter was drawn up and received his approval on 17th March, 1616⁴.

The Company was given an octroi, which guaranteed the monopoly for Asiatic trade for a period of twelve years. It was modelled on the Dutch pattern, and as such was a company of

1. Du Jarric, *Thesaurus Rerum Indicarum*, I, p. 487; Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, III, pp. 355-58; Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagar History*, pp. 267, 270, 284, 287; *Shahitya Suha*; *Sahitya Ratnakara & Raghunathabhyudayam*, Queiroz, *Conquista, de Ceylao*, pp. 379-80.

2. Baldaeus, *A true and exact Description of Malabar, Coromandel, and also of the island of Ceylon*, pp. 617-18.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 699.

4. Kay Larsen, *De Dansk-Ostendiske Koloniers Historie*, I, Trankebar, p. 13.

share-holders, which anyone who contributed 150 Rdlrs. could join. The management was vested in a panel of nine Directors, who had contributed at least 3,000 Rdlrs. each. They drew beside their salary, 2½% of all imports and exports, while the King received in return for his contribution of 16700 Rdlrs., 2,000 Rosenoblers, when the ships returned from their first journey, and thereafter the customs duty on the merchandise. He undertook to supply the ships and the necessary convoy, and appointed nautical shipmasters and mates, qualified to lead them to the distant shores⁶.

While this expedition was being equipped, Boschouwer presented himself at the Danish court as the accredited ambassador of the Emperor of Ceylon⁷. The King and the Company, it would seem, were at once pleased to avail of this opportunity to found a trading settlement in the island of Ceylon⁸. Accordingly, despite the fact that Marcellus Boschouwer had no powers of an attorney, a treaty of commerce and assistance was signed between the King of Denmark and the Emperor of Ceylon on 30th March, 1618.⁹

The King promised to make over to the Emperor for seven years two men-of-war with three hundred trained soldiers together with arms and ammunition. In return, the Danes were to be granted a monopoly of trade for ten years, and half the proceeds of the customs levied on merchandise to and from Ceylon, to be shared at Copenhagen. On behalf of the Emperor, Boschouwer also undertook to reimburse the new ally of his expenses, to the extent of 94500 Rdlrs., on the arrival of the fleet at Ceylon. Further, an ambassador was to be stationed at the Danish Court, while the Danes were to be permitted to preach Christianity in the island. Boschouwer consented to remain with the Danish fleet until the treaty received the Emperor's confirmation.¹⁰

While preparations were being made to implement this agreement, the Directors decided to send in advance the small ship "Oresmond" as a precursor of the expedition. The Hollander, Roland Crappé, one of the promoters of the Company, who seems to have been at the court of Tanjore in his youth¹¹, and as such well acquainted with the country, was put in command of her, and the ship left Copenhagen on the 18th of June, 1618.¹²

After a long voyage of seven months, the "Oresmond" reached Ceylon in February of the next year. The war with the Portuguese had then reached a critical stage. The Emperor received him kindly,

5. *Ibid.*

6. Style adopted by the Kings of Kandy.

7. *English Factories, 1618-1621*, p. XLV.

8. Baldaeus, *op. cit.*, p. 699.

9. Kay Larsen, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

10. Fenger, *History of the Tranquebar Mission*, p. 1.

11. Kay Larsen, *Loc. cit.*

and entreated him to render whatever help he could. Crappé agreed, and in the course of five months destroyed five of their *sampans* or small ships. But before long, in this unequal struggle, he was overtaken by a Portuguese vessel under the command of André Botelho da Costa; and in the ensuing fight, which lasted three hours (probably on 1st Oct. 1619) the "Oresmond" was captured¹². A few of the Danes were slain, forty more were made prisoner, while Crappé with the remaining fifteen escaped to Tanjore, where he was kindly received by Raghunātha Nāyaka¹³.

Meanwhile on the 29th of November of the previous year (1618), the Danish fleet had set out with Boschouwer on board. As provided in the charter, the King contributed two men-of-war, the "Elephanten" and the "David", while the Company, three merchantmen, the "Christian" the "Kjbenhavn", and the "Fljte". Ove Gedde, a Danish nobleman, only twenty-four years of age, was thought capable of leading the expedition and appointed first in command¹⁴.

It could hardly be expected that the different nations of Europe, long established in the eastern trade, would regard with indifference the entry of a new rival into their markets. Holland sought to nip the enterprise in the bud, by forbidding for a time Dutch capital to be invested in the Company, and her sailors to enlist themselves in its service¹⁵. And though the English government at home was less hostile, the shrewd factors at Surat refused to be taken in by the avowedly pacific intentions of the newcomers. For in a letter, dated November, 1619, while taking note of the fact that the Danish fleet had arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on the 12th July of that year, they aver that the Danes, "though they pretended to be bound for Ceylon, to inhabit, it is to be feared that they have more facile designs"¹⁶.

A long voyage such as this was bound to be disturbed no less by accidents and quarrels among the motley crowd that made up its personnel than by storms and tempests. Moreover, disease took a heavy toll among the famished seamen, and before the fleet could reach its destination, Boschouwer himself, the motive force of the expedition, with his little son had been snatched away. Thus after innumerable trials and troubles, the fleet reached Ceylon on the 10th of May, 1620, eighteen months after it had left Copenhagen¹⁷.

12. Faria y Sousa, *op. cit.*, III, p. 338; Queiroz, *op. cit.*, p. 514. Some have supposed that the battle took place off Karikal on the Coromandel coast; cf. Kay Larsen, *Loc. cit.*, Fenger, *op. cit.*, p. 3. Nevertheless, Faria y Sousa explicitly mentions that it occurred off Galle. Kay Larsen also avers that Crappe was compelled to run the ship ashore, where it was entirely destroyed by the breakers.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

14. Kay Larsen, *op. cit.*, pp. 15-16; Fenger, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4; Baldaeus, *op. cit.*, p. 699.

15. Kay Larsen, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

16. *English Factories*, 1618-21, p. 137, from T. Kerridge, T. Rastell, and G. James at Surat, to the Company, November 3 and 5, 1619; cf. H. Crosby's Journal, *Ibid.*, p. 124.

17. Baldaeus, *op. cit.*, p. 699-700; Kay Larsen, *op. cit.*, p. 17; Fenger, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5.

The "Elephanten" was the first to arrive, and while awaiting the other ships, Gedde heard reports of Crappé's disasters. But further disappointment was added, when it was found that the Portuguese were the *de facto* masters of the island, and that the Emperor, shorn of all authority, had contented himself with the humbler title of 'King of Kandy'¹⁸. It was obviously impossible to recover the 94,500 Rdlrs., the Emperor's contribution agreed upon by Boschouwer. On hearing of the latter's death, the King began to deny having empowered him to sign any treaty. "So that", observes Baldaeus, "the Danes had nothing but bare words in recompense for the vast charge they had been at upon this account"¹⁹.

Gedde remonstrated rather harshly, but finding it futile to dispute, he struck upon two means of compensating his masters. He first seized upon Boschouwer's effects, and thereafter entered into a fresh engagement with the King. The Danes were given Trincomali, with permission to build forts there. The King also agreed to supply at his expense 100 soldiers, 500 carpenters, and 500 other artisans, and to allow the Danes to cut ebony wood and cause it to be conveyed to their ships by his people²⁰. This may be described as an early Danish version of the subsidiary alliance, which, during the regime of Wellesley, became the order of the day in India. As in the latter so in the present instance, the prince was reduced to the position of a feudatory of the contracting power.

Despite these efforts to reimburse the Company, Gedde found his exchequer as low as ever before. For one thing, Trincomali was still partly occupied by the Portuguese; for another, the country was so impoverished that there was little hope of sale for the Danish merchandise there. There was moreover a threat of wholesale mutiny on the part of his crew, produced apparently by arrears of pay. He therefore decided on opening negotiations with the court of Tanjore, where Crappé had already been hospitably received²¹. Leaving the "David" in the island, Gedde left Ceylon on the 10th of September. Three days later, the "Elephanten" weighed anchor at the little village of Taranganbadi (Tranquebar) on the coast of Tanjore²².

An incident, which occurred when the Danes landed at the village, while giving an idea of the hostility of the local Muhamadans to the increasing Christian community, also affords a glimpse into the standards of justice of the Nāyakas of Tanjore. We have it in the *Litterae Annuae* of 1620²³, that when the Danes landed at Tranquebar, a party of 'Moors (Muhamadans) was waiting for them'.

18. Kay Larsen, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

19. Baldaeus, *op. cit.*, p. 700; Kay Larsen, *Loc. cit.*

20. *Ibid.*

21. Kay Larsen, *Loc. cit.*

22. *Ibid.*

23. The Jesuit letter speaks of three Danish ships as arriving in July, 1620.
— *The Examiner*, 1908, p. 329.

Since their arrival was then unexpected, it may be supposed that these Muhamadans were merchants, who hearing of the arrival of the merchant ships, went for business to the port. But when they found that these were newcomers without a place of their own to settle they decided to use them as tools in order to vex the little Christian community. They led the Danes to the Church, and broke it open. The Danes were satisfied with the place, and returned to their ships, intending to convert it into a factory. The Jesuit priest, who was then absent in Negapatam, when informed of the occurrence, hurried back to the village. When two days later, the Danes arrived accompanied by the Odigar²⁴, the Father protested that the Christians had been in possession for forty years. Thereupon the matter being referred to the Nāyaka's decision, the Danes sent 1000 patacas²⁵ as a present to him, while the Father sent only his title-deeds and was supported by trustworthy testimony. "The King", continues the letter, "understood their design, ordered the Danes to be well treated and quartered in the Moor's mosque where they have remained up to this day, much abashed and very angry that our church was not granted to them".²⁶

Though the Danes were thus defeated in their attempt to seize the Catholic Church, they nevertheless succeeded in acquiring the village from the Nāyaka of Tanjore, thanks to the efforts of Crappé who had ingratiated himself into his favour. A firman making this grant was finally issued by Raghunātha Nāyaka on the 19th November, 1620²⁷. This is indeed an important event in the annals of the relations of the European Powers with this country, introducing as it did, a new factor into our political development.

Sixteen Persian documents concerning Nazarbar (Nandurbar) in Khandesh.

[By Dr. M. A. Chaghtai, M.A., D. Litt. (Paris)]

The following documents in Persian, briefly described here for the first time, actually belong to the Historical Museum, Satara, which at present is housed at the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona.¹ These have been pasted together in the form of a long scroll measuring 19½ feet in length although not in a regular order. They are 18 in all, but with the exception of only two²,

24. Lord of the place.

25. A 'pataca' was worth Rs. 2/-

26. *Ibid.*, p. 29-30.

27. Kay Larsen *op. cit.*, Appendix I, pp. 167-169.

1. They were deposited in the Museum by Mr. M. A. M. Khan.

2. Brief description of these two documents:—

(a) Round Seal: 'Abu'l-Qasim *Murid* (disciple) of Muhammad Aurangzeb

the rest concern the grant of land and money to persons residing in Sultanpur or Sarkar Nazarbar in the province of Khandesh. The dates found on them range from 1074 A.H. to 1152 A.H., i.e., they contain documents of the period of Aurangzeb, Shah Alam I, Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah.

History speaks of the importance of Nazarbar, the present Nandurbar as being one of the oldest (if not the oldest) among the towns in Khandesh. It is situated 32 miles north-west of Dhulia. Under the name Nandigarā Nandurbar is supposed to have been mentioned in a Kandheri inscription of the 3rd century¹. Ibn Batuta stayed here for sometime and speaks of it as being a town of orthodox Marathas². According to Hajjiu'd-Dabir Sultan Qutbu'd-Din Ahmad of Gujarat (855-862 A.H.) was born in one of its suburbs. Hence that part of Nazarbar began to be called 'Sultanpur'³, and later on Abu'l-Fazl entered it in the *Ain-i-Akbari* as a pargana under Sarkar Nazarbar while it was in the province of Malwa⁴. In 1818 it was acquired by the British. It is full of ancient ruins both Hindu and Muslim. Several of the Muslim ruins bear inscriptions. The earliest one there is dated 720 A.H. i.e., of the period of Mubarak Shah Khalji, as can be traced from its defaced text⁵.

The sixteen documents described here in chronological order also throw a good deal of light upon the procedure of issuing such documents and the technique of their drafting⁶. Almost all of them bear words **نویسنده** on their reverse side. This is an important term relating to the procedure and it means 'let them write the abstract'. As a general practice this abstract (*Ta'liq* **تعليق**) was put on the back of the documents. In many cases these abstracts help to understand the unintelligible points in the actual documents.

1. A *nishan* (insignia) of Prince Muhammad Muazzim issued

Bahadur Alamgir Badshah Ghazi 1069 A.H.

It is addressed to the officials of *Sarkar* Ghazipur in the provinces of Thatta (Sindh) showing that a grant of land has been made to Hafiz Muhammad, son of Hafiz Nasir on 29th Zi-Hajj 1062 A.H. (28th March 1672).

(b) Souka Bhil, son of Nauka Bhil, the resident of mauza Khim Khauwam, willingly sold one mango tree for half a rupee and *Plus* (Paissa) one to Shaikh Muhammad Amin. He after receiving the amount gave the possession of the tree to the said Shaikh. It is dated 10th Jumada II 7th regnal year.

It is not mentioned during whose period this transaction took place. It might be the period of Aurangzeb.

3. *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. XII, 'Khandesh', pp. 457-559, 472-76.

4. Ibn Batuta, *Travels*. Arabic text, Cairo, 1928, Vol. II, p. 106. It looks that Ibn Batuta is the first Muslim writer who has transcribed it as Nazarbar.

5. *Arabic History of Gujarat*, ed. by Sir E. Denison Ross, p. 3.

6. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Cal. ed., pp. 455, 457, and 461.

7. I am grateful to Mr. Q. M. Munir, Suptt. Arch. Western Circle, Poona, for permitting me to study the estampages of the inscriptions of Nazarbar in his office.

8. Ibn Hasan, *The Central Structure of Mughal Empire*, London, 1936, pp. 93-106.

under the *tughra* bearing the name of Aurangzeb Alamgir in accordance with a farman for a grant of six *tankas* (coins) *muradi* (small)* out of the revenue of the parganah of Nazarbar meant as a daily allowance for Sayyid Abdul Ghaffar, Muhammad Sa'id and Khizar, the Muazzins of the mosques of Nazarbar on the condition that they perform their duties as muazzins. Further fifteen *dams* (copper coins) are allotted for the lamps of the mosques. In the meantime Muhammad Sa'id and Khizar absconded, and in their place Shaikh Isma'il and Shaikh Abdur Rasul carried out the duties; therefore, according to the old practice, the same amount was continued as long as Sayyid Abdul Ghaffar and others fulfilled their duties. It is dated 6th Ziqada (17th regnal year) 1074 A.H. (31st May 1664 A.D.).

On the reverse: This *nishan* was forwarded through Mir Nizam-ud-Din Ahmed. Abstract of the same *nishan* is also given with necessary endorsements and entries.

2. Round Seal:— میر ابو الفضل شد ز صدق ضحیر بندہ بادشاہ عالم گیر ۱۰۸۱ھ

Mir Abu'l-Fazl *Banda* (humble servant) of Bad Shah Alamgir.

In compliance with the farman two *tankas* (small coins) *Nazarbari* from the revenue of the said parganah were paid as daily allowance to Shaikh Yusuf, one of the descendants of Qutbu'l-Aqtāb, Shaikh Muhammad Fazlullah. He died and the farman was lost in the riot of Mulla Kabir. After this the same allowance was granted to Shaikh Ismail, son of the deceased on the authority of the *parwanah* of Umdatul-Mulk Nawab Khan Jahan Bahadur Zafar Jang Kokaltash. This *parwanah* also bore the seals of the late Amanat Khan and Sadr-ud-Sadr Qalich Khan. It is dated 5th Rabi I (30th regnal year) 1097 (30th Jan. 1686). On the reverse the abstract is given and it bears two names:—Muhammad Sa'd, Sadr of Balāghāt and Mir Abul Fazl, Diwan.

3. Round Seal: Abdul Ghaffar *Murid* (disciple) of Badshah Alamgir.

According to the *parwanah* of Khan Jahan, Nawab Daler Khan and Muhammad Alam Shirazi one and a half rupees are granted as daily allowance out of the revenue of said parganah to Shaikh Abdur Rasul and others, the children of Shaikh Yusuf. It is dated 27th Sha'ban (31st regnal year) 1098 (8th July 1687). On the reverse besides the name of Shaikh Abdur Rasul, the names of Muhammad Ashraf and Kamali (?) have been included in the grant.

4. An attestation:— Round Seal (not clear).

From Saikh Abdur Rasul and others in accordance with the *sanad* of Khan Jahan a grant of one and a half rupees out of the revenue of the parganah Sultanpur has been recorded. It is dated 26th Ziqada (37th Regnal year) 1104 A. H. (29th July 1693). It bears also the names of Muhammad Ashraf and Kamali (?) as other recipients along with Shaikh Abdur Rasul.

5. Round Seal of Bahrwar Khan Ghulam humble servant of Mahiud-Din Alamgir Badshah Ghazi.

This is a grant of fifty bigahs of barren (بَنَجَر) land for cultivation to Shaikh Abdur Rasul. It is dated 17th Safr (41st regnal year or 1107 Fasli) 1109 (4th September 1697).

On the reverse are the seals of Garnāmi Dās *fidvi* (devoted servant) of Bahrwar Khan and of Tahawar Singh *fidvi* of Bahrwar Khan.

6. Round Seal is the same as that of No. 5.

Grant of one *tanka Nazarbari* to Shaikh Muhammad Sabir and others out of the revenue of the parganah Nazarbar as a daily allowance along with one hundred bigahs of land.

It is dated 11th Rabi I (41st regnal year) 1109 A. H. (17th October 1697).

Reverse: The grant was made over the signature of Rai Bahadur Singh Ahla (?) and several names of places are also mentioned out of the revenues of which the grant was to be made.

7. Round Seal:— Husain Ali Khan *Khanazad* (born in the house) of Alamgir.

It records a grant of 20 bigahs of land to be excluded from the settlement of the *qashah* to Shaikh Rustam along with his sons on the *parwanah* of Mir Muhammad Sufi.

It is dated 16th Muharram (44th regnal year) 1110 A. H. (25th July 1698).

Reverse mentions that it was on the *parwanah* of Bahrwar Khan.

8. Round Seal: Amiru'l-Umara¹⁰ *banda* of Alamgir Ghazi.

According to the farman a grant of 50 bigahs of land was made to a woman named Fazilah on the *sanad* of Bahrwar Khan from the mouza of Songir (?).

It is dated 11th Jumada II (49th regnal year) 1114 A. H. (2nd October 1702).

On the reverse it states that this grant was made to her on the application of Abdul Momin Darwesh.

9. Round Seal: As the previous one.

In compliance with a Royal Farman two *tankas Nazarbari* from the revenue of small tracts of the said parganah were granted to Shaikh Yusuf, one of the descendants of Qutbu'l - Aqtab Shaikh Fazlullah. After his death on the production of the *sanad* of Khan Jahan, the late Amanat Khan and others the same daily allowance was granted to Shaikh Ismail, the son of the deceased. It is dated 17th Jumada II (47th regnal year) 1114 A. H. (8th October 1702).

10. Round Seal:—As on the previous one.

On the *Parwanah* of Khan Jahan and others a grant of rupee one out of the revenue of the said parganah was made to the children of Shaikh Ismāil. It is dated 19th Jumada II (47th regnal year) 1114 A.H. (10th October 1702).

11. Round Seal:—Abdul Latif *fidvi* of Shah Alam.

During the 11th regnal year of Shah Alam it was reported that two *tankas Nazarbari* were granted as daily allowance to Shaikh Muhammad Ismāil son of Sh. Yusuf out of the revenue of small tracts of land of Nazarbar.

It is dated 5th Shawwal (2nd regnal year) 1120 A.H. (19th December 1708).

12. Round Seal:—Dayanat Khan *fidvi* of Muhammad Shah Bahadur Ghazi.

A grant of fifty bigahs of land was made on the *sanad* of Mir Muhammad himself for the maintenance of Shaikh Habibullah, son of Shaikh Muhammad.

It is dated 9th Jumada I (7th regnal year) 1131 A.H. (30th March 1719).

13. Round Seal of the Qazi of Sultanpur.

Shaikh Faqir Muhammad, together with Shaikh Rustam, son of Abdul Hadi and the wife of Shaikh Rustam named Kemo, daughter of Khan Muhammad, residents of qasbah Shahada¹¹ in the parganah of Sultanpur, held a grant of 20 bigahs of *aima* (as a reward or favour at a very low rent) land in the name of the said Shaikh Rustam. As he died and the same land was made a gift in exchange of 25 *tankas* of Nazarbar to Shaikh Muizulla together with Shaikh Muhammad, son of Shaikh Mustafa. The gift of land, *sanads* and *chaknama* (roll descriptive of land boundaries) were handed over to Shaikh Muhammad Muizullah and the money was duly paid to those who bestowed the land. It is dated 1st Ramzan (11th regnal year) 1141 A.H. (31st March 1728).

14. Round Seal:—Hafizu'd-Din Khan *Fidvi* of Badshah Muhammad Shah Bahadur Ghazi.

One *tanka muradi* (a small coin) out of the revenue of 155 bigahs of land of Sultanpur was granted as allowance to a student, Shaikh Muhammad Alam working as Imam, Muazzin and sweeper of the mosque of this town. It was duly verified by Mughal Ali Khan.

It is dated 27th Ziqadah (18th regnal year) 1149 A.H. (29th March 1737).

15. Round Seal:—Mughal Begi Khan *fidvi* of Badshah Ghazi Muhammad Shah.

11. *Bombay Gazetteer*, op. cit. p. 469.

A Grant of one *tanka muradi* as daily allowance for oil of lamp in the mosque of the parganah was made in favour of a student Muhammad Alam. It is dated 2nd Jumada I. (20th regnal year) 1151 A.H. (18th October 1738).

16. Round Seal of Khwaja Abd Fidvi of Badshah Muhammad Shah Ghazi.

On the *parwanah* bearing the seals of Hafizu'd-Din Khan Bahadur, dated 2nd Ziqadah in the 18th regnal year of Muhammad Shah issued on the *sanad* of Mirza Muhammad Sufi and Mughal Ali Khan 20 bigahs of land from the village Shahada were granted to Shaikh Mu'izu'l-lah. It is dated 20th Rabi II (21st regnal year) 1152 A.H. (27th July 1739).

The English and the I. Civil War in Keladi.

[By Dr. B. A. Saletore, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), D. Phil. (Giessen)]

From the letters of the English factors stationed on the west coast, we learn quite a number of details relating to the internal affairs of the Keladi kingdom. Caesar Chamberlain, for instance, is one of such factors whose letters are of much use to us in this connection. "Caesar Chamberlain, with his three assistants, Bendish, Sherlock, and Jones, remained in charge of the Karwar factory throughout the year (1672). They had a good deal to report early in the year as to fighting and other troubles in the Kanarese territories. Several of the Bednur Raja's chiefs, being weary of his rule, conspired to murder him, with the help of an envoy from the king of Bijapur, who had come to collect arrears of tribute. They succeeded in doing this; but most of the mutineers and their abettors were killed by the Raja's enraged soldiery, and a kinsman of the deceased ruler, other than the one intended by the conspirators, was set up as his successor. This led to further conflict and the disturbance was so extensive that for some time it rendered the roads in the whole Kanarese country impassable. Nuran Mulla, the leading merchant of Bhatkal, took up arms in favour of one of the aspirants, who at first succeeded, and made peace with the king of Bijapur; but another faction set up a rival, and in August Chamberlain reported that it was feared that this would lead to warfare by the Bijapur army and further 'cumbustion'....."

The events mentioned in the above letter by Chamberlain had a fatal effect on the longevity of the Keladi kingdom, and, therefore, on the prosperity of a large part of the western coast. The English

factor does not mention the name of the Keladi ruler, nor the names of the conspirators. But from the detailed account of the Keladi kingdom as given by poet Linganna in his work called *Keladi-murari-jaya* (KNV), we may gather a great deal about the affairs in Keladi.

The letter of Caesar Chamberlain is dated in 1672. But the statement "They had a good deal to report early in the year as to fighting and other troubles", obviously means that we have to date the events to the months of January and February 1672, and probably to December 1671. The year 1672, however, falls within the reign of the Keladi queen Cannamāji, who, as is commonly supposed, ruled from 1671 till 1692.² But 1671 seems to have been the last year of her husband king Somaśekhara Nāyaka³, about whom Linganna has the following to say :—

Somaśekhara Nāyaka won in a battle against the king of Mysore, and then turned his attention against the principality of Tarikere. Here ruled the chieftain Hanumappa Nāyaka, who having killed his own wife, had taken to a life of sensuality. Somaśekhara Nāyaka ordered his general Sabnis Kṛṣṇappayya to march with an army against Hanumappa Nāyaka. Sabnis Kṛṣṇappayya captured the fortress of Kāmanadurga, set up prince Sītārāmappayya as the chief of Tarikere, and brought Hanumappa Nāyaka as a captive to the Keladi capital Venupura (Bednur).

Caesar Chamberlain, as we have seen above, relates in his letter that "several of the Bednur Raja's chiefs, being weary of his rule, conspired to murder him, with the help of an envoy from the king of Bijapur, who had come to collect arrears of tribute." Although Chamberlain was not an eye-witness to the events which he narrates, yet his account is substantially the same as that given by Linganna. According to the latter, the trouble in the Keladi capital started after the subjugation of the Tarikere chieftain, who, we may note by the way, had always given much trouble to the Keladi rulers, and had obviously sided with the Bijapur Sultan. Sometime after the Tarikere campaign, a wicked person named Baramē Māvuta told king Somaśekhara Nāyaka that if he took a certain intoxicant, he would increase his bodily strength. Somaśekhara Nāyaka followed this wicked man's advice, and soon fell a prey to evil habits and evil company.

The Sultan of Bijapur came to know about this fallen state of the Keladi ruler, and sent his general Mujbar Khan and his *rakil* Jannopant to the Keladi court. Some of the wicked men in the court of Somaśekhara Nāyaka now sided with the Bijapuris, and conspired to kill the Keladi ruler. Linganna passes over in silence the names of these traitors. He merely calls them *kulaki-niyogigal* (evil-minded officials).

2-3. Rice, Lewis, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 157.

Somaśekahara Nāyaka's wife Cannamāji bore the news of the murder of her husband with equanimity, and prepared to meet the diplomacy of the Bijapur *vakil* Jannopant with his own weapons. In the meanwhile, the allies of the Bijapur Sultan had taken up arms against the Keladi queen, and one of them was Kenge Hanumappa Nāyaka, evidently the ruler of the principality of Tarikere. In a contest that followed the Muslim general of Tarikere, by name Sheik Baba, was killed by the Keladi forces. Jannopant's diplomacy was successfully counteracted in the Keladi court by the queen; the arch-villain Barame Māvuta was compelled to flee the country; and one by one the conspirators were punished. Among these, Linganna relates, was the brother-in-law of the queen named Basavalinga Nāyaka. This prince was at first exiled, but later on sentenced to death.

A plot to set up a rival claimant to the throne was now hatched by Marebova Lakṣmayya, Vīrabhadrayya, and others. Their intention was to set up an illegitimate son of Andhaka Venkatayya of Hosangadi, on the ground that the mother of this child was in some way connected with the famous Keladi ruler Venkatapa Nāyaka. The child was to be called Sivappa Nāyaka.

On hearing this, Barame Māvuta and others hurried to the principality of Bilige, where lived Kāsaragōḍu Timmanna, Sabnis Kṛṣṇappayya, and others. These officials wove a counter-plot on behalf of a son of Bhadrappa. With this end in view, Timmanna and Kṛṣṇayya joined hands with the Bijapur *vakil* Jannopant, gave battle to the forces of the rival party led by Marebova Lakṣmayya, and capturing him had him beheaded.

Queen Cannamāji heard the news of the conflict between the two rival parties, and fearing further trouble, retired with her retinue from the capital of Venupura to the hill fortress of Bhuvanagiri. To this place she summoned both Kāsaragōḍu Timmanna and Sabnis Kṛṣṇappayya with whom she settled her differences. All the three now made common cause, and it was unanimously agreed upon that Bhadrappa's son had no claims whatsoever to the Keladi throne, and that queen Cannamāji alone was the legal ruler. Andhaka Venkatayya was exiled to Hosangadi, and his illegitimate son beheaded. Cannamāji was now crowned queen in the hill fortress of Bhuvanagiri on Bahula, 10 Phālguna, Virodhikṛt Śaka 1591. She returned with her army and retinue to the capital Venupura (Bednur), from where she conducted the administration of the country in the traditional Hindu manner (*rāja-dharmada-mārga*).

With the return of the queen the Keladi capital, the fears entertained by Caesar Chamberlain about "further combustion" were

not for the time being realised, for the queen proved herself an able administrator and a capable general. But she had taken the help of one or two persons to stabilise herself, and we shall see in a subsequent paper how this led to further trouble for herself.

Committee of Circuit on the new Policy announced in 1771.

[By Mr. B. B. Chakrabarti, B.A., B.L.]

The famous despatch¹ of 1771 from the Court of Directors announced their determination to stand forth as Diwan and by the agency of the company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues.

At this time the Company was still following the policy of administering Bengal through the Agency and under the garb of country power. Though the Company assumed the Diwani in 1765, the administration was still practically in the hand of Naib Subah Muhammad Reza Khan². Murshidabad was still the Revenue head-quarter of Bengal and the Council of Revenue³ at Murshidabad exercised immediate control in Revenue matters subject, of course, to the authority of the President and Council at Calcutta.

In this state of things the Court of Directors announced the new Policy of ousting Muhammad Reza Khan and taking over the direct administration of the Diwani. The task of giving effect to the Policy fell on the President and Council sitting as the Controlling

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1. Rev. Dep't. General letter from the Court of Directors dated the 28th August 1771 which was sent through the Lapwing.
 2. Son-in-law of Rabia Begam; when Mir Jafar was Nawab Nazim of Bengal for the second time, he was Governor of Dacca, but Nuncomar's influence with the Nawab led to his dismissal from the Governorship of Dacca, and he was brought as a prisoner to Murshidabad. On the downfall of Nuncomar, Clive appointed Reza Khan to be Deputy to Nawab Najm-ud-daula; next he was sent by Clive to Azimabad (Patna) as Governor to recover sums due to Government: he was then made Naib Subah by the English when they obtained the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa: in 1772 he was charged by Warren Hastings with misappropriation of revenue and brought to Calcutta for trial, but was acquitted: then joined the party of General Clavering, who procured for him the post of Deputy to Nawab Mubarak-ud-daula, and the Faujdari of Murshidabad, but soon after General Clavering's death, he lost power and was dismissed: in 1780 he was in power for the third time as "General Faujdar": died about 1785 at Murshidabad.
 3. In 1770 two Controlling Councils of Revenue were formed under orders of the Court of Directors, one at Murshidabad and the other at Patna, for conducting Revenue business. They were placed under the Controlling Committee of Revenue at Fort William when it was formed in 1771. Murshidabad Council came to an end in 1772 when Khalsa was removed for Murshidabad to Calcutta.

Committee of Revenue*. The measures adopted in the matter were recorded in the Committee's resolution dated the 14th May 1772 in which they decided to form a special Committee out of them called "the Committee of Circuit"⁴. In the letter of appointment of this Committee⁵ their duties were defined which included among other things:—

- (a) the question of appointment of a Naib Subah⁶ for Nizamat affairs in place of Muhammad Reza Khan;
- (b) arrangement for the Nawab's household, and
- (c) arrangement for the Khalsa⁷ and Diwani administration.

The Committee of Circuit in their proceedings dated the 11th July 1773 deprecated the appointment of a Naib Subah, who, according to its original constitution, comprehends practically every branch of executive Government. The ground of their objection was that "by the exercise of such extensive power united in the same person the rights and prerogatives of the ancient Government will still be preserved and the minds of people, instead of being familiarised to the authority of the Company, will be taught to look forward to the time when the Nub⁸ shall resume the sovereignty and state of his predecessors from which his present youth excludes him".

The Committee thought that "it is their duty to take such measures as may ensure to the Company the option of acting according to their own ideas of justice and propriety, that is, to retain openly in own hands the whole conduct of Government for the present, to accustom the people to the sovereignty of the British nation, to divide the office of Nizamat and to suffer no person to share in the management of Nabob's domestic affair who from birth, rank and personal consideration or from actual trust may have it in his power to assist his master with the means or even to inspire him with the hopes of future independence". These grounds are significant.

The Committee of Circuit accordingly recommended to the Board that the office of the Naib Subah should be totally abolished and Muni Begum⁹ should be appointed guardian of the Nawab¹⁰ and Super-

4. This was formed at Calcutta under orders of the Court of Directors and consisted of the President and four members. This body was replaced by the Revenue Board of the whole Council in October 1772.
5. It consisted of W. Hastings as President and S. Middleton, P. M. Dacres, J. Lawrell and J. Graham as members.
6. *Controlling Committee of Revenue Progs.* dated the 4th June 1772.
7. His Office included that of Naib Diwan in which he represented the Company and that of Naib Nazim in which he represented the Subadar of Bengal having the administration of criminal justice and the care of the Nawab's person and finance.
8. It means exchequer—the Land Revenue office of Government under Muhammadan rule which was also continued during the early period of the British rule.
9. Widow of Nawab Mir Jafar.
10. Mubarak-ud-daula, Nawab of Bengal 1760-96.

intendent of his household with a Diwan under her. The nomination of Muni Begum was based on the ground that her rank may give her a claim to this office "without hazard in our own policy nor will it be found incomputible with the rules prescribed to her sex by the laws and manners of the country, as her authority will be confined to the walls of the Nabob's palace". This was also of great consequence.

Then came the question of appointment of a Diwan of the Nawab's household and the choice fell on Raja Gurudas¹¹ as proposed by the President W. Hastings, inspite of the violent opposition of the majority of the members, viz., Messrs Dacres, Lawrell and Graham. The President wanted to have a man in place of the late Naib Subah "who is known to be his most violent opponent and most capable of opposing him" and he was fully aware that "these ends cannot be obtained merely from the abilities of Raja Gurudas as his youth and inexperience render him although unexceptionable in other respects, inadequate to the real purpose of his appointment". The recommendation, therefore, appears to be rather curious but its underlying idea was that "by the appointment of Raja Gurudas the Company should avail itself of the abilities and influence of his father Maharaja Nanda Kumar¹² who has all the abilities, perseverance and temper requisite for such ends in a degree perhaps exceeding any man in Bengal". The sole motive for the recommendation was "the necessity of employing the vigilance and activity of so penetrating a rival to counteract the designs of Muhammad Reza Khan and to irradicate that influence which he still retains in the Government of the Province and more specially in the family of the Nabob" without entrusting him with any office or real power.

In opposing¹³ the proposal references were made showing the dangerous character of Nanda Kumar prejudicial to the interest of the Company. It was shown that Nanda Kumar was found guilty of forgery and false accusations, carrying on correspondence hurtful to

11. Son of Maharaja Nanda Kumar.

12. Born early in the 18th century in the Murshidabad district: appointed Amin or revenue collector of Parganas Hijji and Mahisadal: accompanied Clive to Patna as Vakil: and, in 1756, was Governor of Hughli, attended Mir Jafar in the war against Mir Kasim: made, about 1764, Maharaja by the Emperor Shah Alam: appointed by the E. I. Co. to be Collector of Burdwan, Nadia and Hughli, in place of W. Hastings: in 1765 was Naib Subah of Bengal, deposed, and Muhammad Reza Khan appointed: in 1772, made complaints against the Revenue Administration of Muhammad Reza Khan, Naib Subah, and helped Warren Hastings in prosecuting Reza Khan, who was then deposed: in 1772 he obtained the appointment of his son, Raja Gurudas, as Diwan to Muni Begum, Superintendent of the Nawab's Household: in March 1775, brought before the Council some grave charges against Warren Hastings: in April 1775, was prosecuted for conspiracy: while this case was pending, a charge of forgery was brought against him in 1775. He was tried at the Sessions before Sir E. Impey, C. J., and others: was convicted of the forgery, sentenced to death, and hanged on August 5, 1775.

13. *Committee of Circuit proceedings*, dated 26th July, 1772.

the Company's interests and instrumental in conveying letters between the Shazada¹⁴ and the French Governor-General of Pondicherry. He drew off Raja Bulwant Singh¹⁵ from his alliance with the Company. He was also suspected of "being engaged in inviting and exciting Surjadowlah¹⁶ to commence the war and in carrying on correspondence with the fugitive Meer Cossin¹⁷."

The majority pointed out that it would be "equally dangerous and impolitic" to invest such a man "with the finest power or the most distant opportunity of doing mischief."

In face of the above objection the President supported his proposal putting a very different light to Nanda Kumar's past conduct which he regarded as an outcome of "motives of zeal and fidelity to service"¹⁸. He made "a distinction between the violation of a trust and an offence committed against Government who owed it no allegiance nor was indebted to it for protection". As Nanda Kumar "was the actual servant and minister of a master whose interest naturally suggested that kind of policy which sought, by foreign aids and the diminution of the power of the Company, to raise his own consequence and to re-establish his authority" the President regarded his conduct as "not only not culpable but even praiseworthy" and he observed that "he should be very sorry to see Nund Comar become the minister of a rival power, because of his abilities" which may be very usefully employed in the services of the Company.

As Raja Gurudas was ultimately appointed¹⁹ as Diwan it is apparent that the President's view of Nanda Kumar's conduct was accepted and Nanda Kumar's prosecution and hanging later on on a charge of forgery, therefore, appears to be an irony of fate.

As regards the arrangement for the Khalsa and Diwani administration the Committee of Circuit recommended "that the Revenue in all its Branches be put under the immediate control of the President and Council at the Presidency"²⁰ and "the Board of Revenue at Murshidabad be abolished and that the Court of Calsa with all the offices appertaining thereto be transferred to the Presidency and placed under the charge and direction of the President and Council"²¹.

14. (A Prince, the son of a King) Shah Alam—King of Delhi, 1759 - 1806.
15. Raja of Benares.
16. Nawab of Oudh, 1763 - 75.
17. Nawab of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, 1760-63.
18. Committee of Circuit proceedings, dated 28 July, 1772.
19. Committee of Circuit proceedings, dated 11 August, 1772.
20. Committee of Circuit proceedings, dated 28 July, 1772.
21. Refers to the Controlling Council of Bengal.

The policy underlying the above recommendation was that with the removal of Khalsa etc., "a vast influx of people will be drawn to Calcutta and with it a great increase of wealth — The consequences of the Presidency will be much improved with its population as it will lessen that of Murshidabad, which will no longer remain the capital of the Province, having nothing to support it but the presence of the Nabob, and a few families of consideration who possessing valuable properties on the spot will choose to continue there — The consequence of the Nabob himself will sink in proportion, and the eyes of the people will be turned to Calcutta as the custom of Government and to the Company as their sovereign".

The Committee further observed that "their manners by a constant intercourse will by degrees assimilate with ours and breed a kind of new relation and attachment to us. This too will open a new source of trade advantageous to the Mother country, by the consumption of its most valuable manufactures".

What has been said above are instances of the farsightedness of the Committee of Circuit which contributed to a large extent to establish the British Government on a firm footing, to bring about the end of the Muslim rule in Bengal, to reduce Murshidabad to insignificance, to raise Calcutta to a state of pomp and prosperity and to create a field for the consumption of the valuable British manufactures.

Warren Hastings and his supposed resignation of the office of Governor-General of Bengal.

[By Mr. D. N. Banerjee, M.A.]

The tender in 1776 by Colonel MacLeane of Warren Hastings' resignation of the office of Governor-General of Bengal "in supposed accordance with" the latter's desire and the acceptance of this resignation by the Court of Directors are two very interesting events in the early constitutional history of India under British rule. The series of transactions which had led to the offer of the resignation by Colonel MacLeane and the incidents that followed when the news of its acceptance by the Court reached Calcutta in June, 1777, have been described, more or less, in detail by Gleig and some other biographers¹ of Warren Hastings as well by historians like Peter Auber² and Edward Thornton³; and I do not, therefore, propose to deal with them here. The

1. Such as Captain L. J. Trotter, Sir Alfred Lyall, and Mr. (later on, Sir) George Forrest.

2. See his *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India*, Vol. I, 1837, Chap. x.

3. See his *History of the British Empire in India*, Vol. II, 1842, Chap. ix.

object of this paper is to publish only a few* important extracts from the letter which Hastings addressed to the Court of Directors on 15th August, 1777, with reference to the action which his friend and agent Colonel MacLeane had taken on his behalf in England. Strangely enough, I find no reference to this letter in Gleig^s, or in Trotter^s or in Alfred Lyall^s, or again in Forrest^s. I obtained a certified copy of the letter from the India Office, London, as no copy of it was available in India^s. The letter has to my mind some importance in our constitutional history as it shows Hastings' own view in regard to the question of his supposed resignation. Among other things, he stated in it:—

"To the Honble the Court of Directors.

"Honble Sirs

"No event of my Life ever befel me for which I was so little prepared as the News of the Notification made by Colonel Macleane of my desire to resign your Service, your acceptance of that Notification your nomination of Mr. Wheler to fill the vacancy which would of course follow my removal from this Government; your Application to the King to approve the nomination of Mr. Wheler, and his approval of it; Acts so solemn in their progression, so important in respect to their Object and concluded by an Authority so sacred, that although I knew them to be invalid, the Grounds on which they were built being defective, yet my confidence forsook me and I thought of nothing but to submit myself to the hard Lot which had been imposed upon me; I could not disavow the declaration made by Colonel Macleane without appearing adverse to a Man who had given me the most undoubted proofs of his Friendship and even in this Instance in which he exceeded his powers had been actuated, as I knew by a sincere and honest though, a mistaken and too precipitate zeal to serve me, I could not arraign the Justice of those whose approbation I have ever sought as the first reward of my fidelity and incessant Toils for their Service, neither would the high respect which I bear to an Instrument having his Majesty's Royal Signature however obtained, allow me without the greatest reluctance to disclaim the principle on which its effect depended.....

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4. Considerations of space forbid the publication of the letter in whole in this paper.
 5. *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Hon. Warren Hastings*, Vols I. & II, 1841.
 6. *Rulers of India, Warren Hastings*, Oxford, 1890.
 7. *Warren Hastings*, Macmillan, 1902.
 8. *Selections from the State Papers of the Governors-General of India*, Vol. I, *Warren Hastings, Introduction*, 1910.
 9. Peter Auber, however, in his *Rise and Progress of the British Power in India* (Vol. I, 1837, pp. 553-54), and Edward Thornton, in his *History of the British Empire in India* (Vol. II, 1842, pp. 106-108) have made a reference to this letter, and published one or two extracts from it—although, not always, exact copies of the relevant portions of the letter. Horace Wilson also has just made a reference to the letter in the footnote on page 18 of Vol. IV of James Mill's *History of British India* (Fourth Edition, 1848).

"On the other hand I could not ratify the promise which had been made in my Name without making an ungrateful return to the Company for the honorable support which they have so successfully bestowed upon me; nor without branding my own Character, withfalsehood and deception, after the repeated protestations publicly and loudly made by me that no consideration of private convenience or impatience of injury should prevail upon me to make a voluntary surrender of the Trust which had been committed to me. But that I would retain my Seat in this Government until a clear decision was past between me and my Opponents in it, or until I should be removed from it by authority.

"My Mind being thus divided by such opposite considerations I could not immediately resolve on the conduct which it was proper for me to pursue with respect to the Engagement which had been imposed upon me and I suffered myself to continue in a state of indecision for a long time in the hope of seeing Mr. Maclean, who I understand was on the point of returning to India, or of learning by other means of information the Authorities on which so uncommon a Measure had been conducted and of which (strange as it may appear) I am yet ignorant.

"I have been disappointed in these expectations and have therefore yielded to the necessity which compels me to declare that I do not hold myself bound by the notification made by Mr. Maclean nor by any of the Acts consequent of it, what the Evidence were which were produced by Mr. Maclean to your Committee I know not.....

"I can only say that I do not retain even the faintest Idea of having given such a Commission, nor can I conceive the necessity of empowering others to do for me in my name an Act which must have waited for my ratification, and which it was at all times in my own power to perform for myself without any Agency.....I hope I may be allowed to appeal to.....Evidences.....in your possession for proof that nothing was more foreign from my intention than by any voluntary act of my own to relinquish the trust which had been publicly committed to me.....

"I have extracted a few of the most striking passages to this effect from the Letters which had been received by you at the time of the notification made by Mr. Maclean, which I beg leave to quote at large.

"Painful as my Situation is likely to prove and unsuitable to my disposition, it is my determined Resolution to retain the place which your favor originally assigned me, and the Legislature has since, so honorably confirmed, 'till your Justice shall decide between me, and my Opponents.

"If you should judge me fit to be continued in the chief direction of your Affairs, I have already said, and yet repeat that I am willing and desirous to devote what remains of the active Season of my Life to your Service.

Extracts 3rd Dec.
1774 per British
King.

3rd Dec. 1774
per British King.

"It will be difficult to explore the source of Measures so uniformly violent and personal, before the Gentlemen could have acquired a knowledge of the Affairs of the Company or of myself, unless we trace it in a preconcerted intention to provoke me to a resignation of the Government, or to lead me into a warfare of Scurrility inconsistent with my Character and Station. If these however have been the Objects of the Majority, they will find themselves disappointed, for with respect to the former I have determined to sacrifice my own feelings and abide by the decision of my Employers, on the Appeal which I have made to their unbiassed Judgment, and with respect to the latter I will venture to say, that I shall be armed with a sufficient defence in the exercise of my own Moderation.

"My situation is truly painful and mortifying deprived of the powers with which I have been invested by a solemn Act of the Legislature, ratifying your choice of me to fill the first Office in this Administration, denied the respect which is due to my Station and Character, denied even the rights of personal Civility, by Men with whom I am compelled to associate in the daily course of Official Business and condemned to bear my share in the responsibility of Measures which I do not approve I should long since have yielded up my place in this disgraceful Scene, did not my Ideas of my duty to you, and a confidence in your Justice, animate me to persevere.

"I now take my leave for a long interval of time, in which I have every thing to expect from the determined Inveteracy of my Enemies, but I will still wait with what patience I can, the Remedy which I look for from your Justice etc.

"Permit me Honble Sirs, to take this occasion to disclaim the intention which may be obviously ascribed to these Appeals, of having written them solely for my own vindication. Had this been the sole object which I could have obtained by them, as much as I feel for my own honor, and great as my ambition is to devote my future Labors to your Service I should have long since quitted the Scene of Trouble in which I am involved, nor ever presumed to intrude on the Business of your Honble court, with the relation of my Grievances.

"If I am conscious of possessing Talents and Integrity (Sic) such as may qualify me to fill with credit the Seat which you have assigned me, I should repay that benefit with Ingratitude, and disgrace, the choice which you have made of me, were I to desert it, because the possession of it was attended with present Trouble and a temporary Mortification.

"Prompted equally by Duty and Gratitude, I have hitherto resolved to bear my part in this distracted Scene, and *if I live I will see the end of it.*

"If there be any force in words the above extracts are all positive affirmations of a Resolution to retain my place in this Government until I should be removed from it— The Connection of the same spirit which runs thro' all my Letters is a yet stronger confirmation of it. These were my own Declarations regularly notified in clear and unequivocal Language by myself, your Servant, to you my Employers and would most undoubtedly in your Opinions had they been in your remembrance have been construed to revoke any kind of intimation however authenticated which could be delivered by proxy

Fort William

15 August. 1777".

I wish I could deal here with the remarks which the Court of Directors made with regard to the points raised by Hastings in his letter. Considerations of space, however, forbid this.

A Blank Farman.

[By Dr. N. K. Sinha, M.A., Ph. D.]

General Caillaud concluded a "treaty of honour, favour alliance and friendship" between the the East India Company and Nizam Ali on the 12th November 1766. According to article II of this treaty the Company engaged "to have a body of their troops ready to settle the affairs of his Highness' Government in everything that is right and proper whenever required". Shortly after, Nizam Ali invaded Haidar's territory in concert with the Marathas, an English auxiliary force under Colonel Joseph Smith accompanying him. But the expedition was a disjointed affair. The Marathas made their own terms and withdrew. Nizam Ali also entered into an agreement with Haidar and formed a combination inimical to the British. The English detachment with Nizam Ali was allowed to withdraw. Haidar and Nizam Ali entered the Carnatic together, the Nizam, so lately an ally, having been converted by Haidar into a determined enemy of the British. But Colonel Smith succeeded in inflicting defeats on the confederate army at Changama (2nd September, 1767) and at Trinomali (26th September, 1767). The British felt disgusted with the shifty policy of Nizam Ali and wanted a dependable ally at Hyderabad. The Governor and Select Committee at Calcutta while congratulating the Madras Government on their victories made a very significant suggestion. Their letter can be thus summarised¹.

The Nizam would very soon make overtures for peace. But before you consent to treat with him you should reflect whether you could "afford to continue him in the dignity of his present station". The French being always eager to seduce and intrigue

1. Select Committee Proceedings, 27th October, 1767. p. 331-335.

with the Nizam, you must make sure that he is governed by your advice, would be steady in his attachment and proof against their seductions. The Madras Government was expected to pursue the blow and to reduce the Nizam to such a state of dependence as would convince him that he owed his continued existence to their favour and support. "Something similar to the Government established in these provinces might we think be set up to advantage on the coast without extending the Company's influence so far or reducing that of the Subah so much". In the postscript of the letter there was the hint "If it should be found necessary to bring about a change of persons in the Subahship we should exert our influence with the King to have it sanctioned by a royal sanad".

In a Madras letter dated the 2nd October, 1767², the same suggestion was made independently of that emanating from Calcutta. "Resentment might make the Nizam obstinate to his own destruction. We apprehend we shall be necessitated to attack his capital and deprive him of his government, however contrary to our real inclinations because in prosecution of yours and our original systems, we shall still be obliged to set up to support a subah of the Deccan as a barrier between us and the Marathas and consequently we must find money and troops. We know of no person who has treasures, force or influence enough to fill so exalted a seat of Government; we therefore apply to you to know if the king might be inclined to send any of his sons or any of the royal race and if he can supply money or give any security of reimbursing the expense we may be at to support any appointment he might make of a subah of the Deccan. We mention this only as an idea which strikes us at present".

This idea of replacing Nizam Ali by some more convenient person occurred to the Governments of Calcutta and Madras about the same time. But the Calcutta Government's impelling motive was anti-French, whereas the Madras Government wanted the Nizam to be a barrier to the Carnatic against the Marathas. It was a compliment to the Peshwa Madhava Rao and the Maratha power reviving after Panipat that even when Haidar was at war with the British, the Maratha menace was uppermost in the mind of the people at Madras.

In course of a discussion, between the Madras and Calcutta Governments as to suitable persons who could replace Nizam Ali, his brother Basalat Jang's name was mentioned only to be brushed aside. He was considered to be the principal instigator of the war. A son of Nizam Ali was the next suggestion. But it was argued, "If the father does not submit to be guided by us there is little hope of our managing the son to our interest".

Select Committee Proceedings, 17th November, 1767. p. 395.

3. Select Committee Proceedings—20th December, 1767. p. 458.

No suitable name could be suggested. Before this discussion had made much progress, a Madras letter dated the 19th November, informed the Calcutta Select Committee that the Nizam was sending peace feelers and as such it was necessary to see how far he could be induced to accept terms favourable to the East India Co. But the President and Select Committee at Calcutta followed up the idea with more promptness than was perhaps necessary in the circumstances. They informed the Madras Government on the 10th February, 1768 "In a former letter we advised you that we should apply to the King for a blank phirmaund for the Subahship of the Deccan and we have now the pleasure to acquaint you that in a letter which our President lately received from His Majesty he has promised to transmit it in five days after the date thereof...With you it rests to determine on a point of so great importance and permit us to say merits your most serious consideration"⁴.

But the Madras Government, conscious of the difficulty of finding a proper person to replace Nizam Ali was not prepared to carry things so far. Major Hart took possession of Khammamet and Nizam Ali entered heartily into measures for an accommodation. The Madras Government knew it very well that a very large force would be necessary to support their nominee to the subahship and the Deccan would thereby be thrown into great confusion. Moreover, war with Haidar Ali was still going on. In view of all these difficulties and as they felt that Nizam Ali was more amenable to reason, the Madras Government thought that it was no longer necessary to utilise this blank farman.

On the 27th April, 1768, a treaty of friendship and alliance was concluded between Nizam Ali and the Madras Government. The President and Select Committee at Calcutta while acknowledging the receipt of a copy of the treaty made a mention of the blank farman: "The blank phirmaund obtained from the king for the subahdarship of the Deccan, shall, according to your desire be kept with all possible privacy, though should Nizam Ali (as it is very possible he may) obtain information of this circumstance, it would, we think, be productive of a good rather than a contrary effect. As we can see, the knowledge of a superior influence in the empire would increase an awe which our superiority of strength has already inspired him with and his dread of this influence reserved in our hands for a future occasion would probably outweigh any sentiments of resentments arising from his reflections on our policy".

4. Select Committee Proceedings — 10th February, 1768. p. 56.

5. *Abid* — 27th April, 1768, p. 195.

Captain E. J. Johnson, Commissioner at Bithur 1823-28.

[By Dr. P. C. Gupta, M. A., Ph. D. (London.)]

Captain John Low, the first Commissioner with the ex-Peshwa at Bithur went on leave in 1822. His assistant, Captain Blacker officiated for him till the beginning of 1823, when Captain Johnson took over the charge. Johnson continued as the acting Commissioner till Low's return from St. Helena in February 1825. But Low was soon transferred to Jaipur and in June 1826 Johnson was appointed to the post of the Commissioner.¹

During his period of office Johnson had little cause for anxiety. The ex-Peshwa had got used to his changed circumstances, and luxury and forced idleness had softened his spirit. Johnson's letters from Bithur do not contain many incidents of political importance, but they mention numerous interesting episodes connected with ex-Peshwa's life in captivity. In a letter of 4th July 1823 we read of the death of Amrit Rao's wife at Benares, and Amrit Rao's intention of marrying again.² Amrit Rao himself died next year, and an envoy was permitted to proceed to Benares for offering Baji Rao's condolence to his nephew Vinayak Rao.³ Baji Rao's favourite wife Saraswati Bai died on 3rd July 1825⁴ and we are told in February 1826, that Baji Rao was contemplating another marriage.⁵ The bride was probably the daughter of one Ganpat Rao of the Deccan.⁶ Johnson was asked to write to Chaplin, Commissioner in the Deccan for a suitable escort for conducting the young lady to Bithur.⁷ We also read about Baji Rao's intention of adopting a son, after a short illness in June 1827. There was hardly any time for obtaining the sanction of the Governor-General, but on account of the condition of Baji Rao's health the Commissioner did not protest. The ceremony took place on the 7th June when two boys were adopted. They were Sadashiv Rao aged four years and Dhondo Rao aged two years and a half.⁸ The last named was the well-known Nana Saheb of the Sepoy Mutiny.

In May 1823, there was a proposal for the reduction of the number of guards posted at Bithur, but the suggestion was finally abandoned.⁹ The restrictions placed on Baji Rao's movements however were relaxed and he was allowed to pay occasional visits in the

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1. Pol. Pro. 7 July 1826 (48) L.R.D.
 2. Pol. Pro. 25 July 1823 (84) L.R.D.
 3. Pol. Pro. 29 Oct. 1829 (37) L.R.D.
 4. Pol. Pro. 22 July 1825 (25) L.R.D.
 5. Pol. Pro. 27 July 1826 (120) L.R.D.
 6. *Ibid.*
 7. *Ibid.*
 8. Pol. Pro. 6 July 1827 (28) L.R.D.
 9. Pol. Pro. 4 July 1823 (45) L.R.D.

neighbourhood. Baji Rao visited Mathura in 1822¹⁰ and in November 1823 another journey was made to the same place.¹¹ He returned in April, visiting Mainpuri and Fategarh on the way.¹² In 1824 Baji Rao again went to Mathura and spent the winter there.¹³ Next year, however, the Government found it inconvenient to arrange for his annual pilgrimage and Baji Rao was asked to postpone his tour.¹⁴

Baji Rao was expected to lead a life of complete seclusion and never to maintain any connection with his old adherents. It is for this reason that the Governor-General did not allow him to present Khilats to his friends and relations. In 1823, when Baji Rao wanted to present a Khilat to Amrit Rao on the occasion of his marriage, the Commissioner was informed that the Governor-General did not consider it proper and could not permit the Khilat to be sent.¹⁵ In 1828, when his adopted son was invested with sacred thread, Baji Rao wanted to send letters of invitation to his friends in the Deccan. It was explained that the practice was a "mere matter of formal civility", and that all letters might be examined by the Commissioner and forwarded "through the political authority in the Province".¹⁶ Johnson did not consider this request as unreasonable.¹⁷ But the Governor-General was definitely opposed to it. He considered it inexpedient to permit the ex-Peshwa to address his old feudatories like Sindhia, Holkar and Gaekwar. He was afraid that Baji Rao might use his old title and designation and that this would serve as a notice to his former friends that he had "adopted an heir to the office of the Peshwa, and to all the hopes and pretensions therewith connected", with the apparent sanction of the British Government.¹⁸ The Governor-General insisted on maintaining a close watch over Baji Rao's attempts to send out messages to the Deccan. In 1824, Johnson was taken to task by Lord Amherst for permitting Baji Rao's agents to proceed to Aurangabad, on the plea of procuring fruits and flowers for his garden.¹⁹ The Governor-General considered it a "obviously a mere feint" and ordered Johnson not to "allow any communication to take place between Baji Rao and the Deccan without obtaining the previous permission of the Government".²⁰ Johnson protested that he had no reason to doubt the sincerity of the ex-Peshwa and that it was but natural that he would like to possess the productions of his native place, particularly certain fruits of Poona and Aurangabad which were

10. Pol. Pro. 18 July 1823 (34) I. R. D.

11. Pol. Pro. 2 Jany. 1824 (30) I. R. D.

12. Pol. Pro. 7 May. 1824 (36) I. R. D.

13. Pol. Pro. 16 Sept 1825 (57) I. R. D.

14. *Ibid.*

15. Pol. Pro. 25 July 1823 (25) I. R. D.

16. Pol. Pro. 8 Feb. 1828 (57) I. R. D.

17. *Ibid.* and Pol. Pro. 8 Feb. 1828 (58) I. R. D.

18. Pol. Pro. 8 Feb. 1828 (58) I. R. D.

19. Pol. Pro. 15 Oct. 1824 (2) I. R. D.

20. *Ibid.*

considered to be the best grown in India. He doubted if "too animate a scrutiny into the transactions of Bajee Rao's life" would serve the interest of the British Government.²¹ The Governor-General did not agree with Johnson, but expressed his conviction that the ex-Peshwa would never give up his hope of some political change which might "restore to him the whole or a part" of his former fortune.²² He also reminded the Commissioner that it was his "special duty" to "exercise an unceasing and everjealous vigilance" over Bajji Rao's conduct.²³

In 1826, Bajji Rao caused some embarrassment to the Government. The Governor-General, accompanied by Lady Amherst was touring in the Upper provinces and in October they arrived at Allahabad. Bajji Rao wanted to pay him a visit at Cawnpore and applied for permission to send his Dewan Ramchandra Pant with a complimentary message to the Governor-General.²⁴ Lord Amherst had no intention of granting an interview to Ramchandra or Bajji Rao. He informed Johnson that the "terms and ceremonials of an interview" could not be "arranged on a satisfactory footing" and that the interview would not be "productive of any real pleasure or advantage to either party".²⁵ Bajji Rao made a second request which was turned down. The Governor-General wanted "to avoid any direct personal intercourse" with the ex-Peshwa, and requested him not to ask for an interview²⁶, Bajji Rao prayed that at least his Dewan be allowed to carry his complimentary messages to Lord Amherst or an agent might be sent to him by the Governor-General with assurances that the Government was not displeased with his conduct.²⁷ The Governor-General considered it inconsistent with Bajji Rao's position that he should send him a complimentary message, and the idea that an agent should be sent by the Governor-General to Bithur, seemed to him "preposterous".²⁸ It seems therefore that the suggested interview between Bajji Rao and Lord Amherst did not after all materialise. It is interesting to note that a biography of Lord Amherst refers to a meeting between Bajji Rao and the Governor-General in October 1826. The authors describe Lord Amherst's arrival at Allahabad and mention that the "ex-Peshwa of the Marathas" was among the chiefs who "come to pay their duty".²⁹ Then follows a quotation apparently from Lady Amherst's diary and Bajji Rao's appearance is described. He "wore a small pointed gold turban, his diamonds and pearls were

21. Pol. Pro. 24 Dec. 1824 (86) I. R. D.

22. Pol. Pro. 24 Dec. 1824 (87) I. R. D.

23. *Ibid.*

24. Pol. Pro. 8 Dec. 1826 (5) I. R. D.

25. Pol. Pro. 8 Dec. 1826 (5) I. R. D. (Private correspondence, Stirling to Johnson on 2nd Nov.)

26. Pol. Pro. 8 Dec. 1826 (5) I. R. D. (Private correspondence. Johnson to Stirling on 5 Nov. & Stirling to Johnson 15 Nov.)

27. Pol. Pro. 8 Dec. 1826 (5) I. R. D. (Private correspondence, Johnson to Stirling 20 Nov.)

28. Lord Amherst's note on the above.

29. *Lord Amherst* (Rulers of India) p. 180.

few, but large and splendid, his appearance and conversation were animated and sensible."³⁰ It is very difficult to reconcile this statement with the correspondence that passed between the Commissioner and the Governor-General. The records are curiously silent about this meeting, and the letters of November 1826 almost contradict the story that such an interview actually took place in the previous month.

Towards the end of Johnson's term of office a mild flutter was caused by the report of a conspiracy to attack Bithur. The author of this plot was one Ramdin, an inhabitant of the district of Cawnpore. He called himself a Raja and retained a small number of followers. He received a small allowance from the Government, but it was insufficient to meet his needs, and he was in want of money.³¹ He occasionally came to Bithur, but always behaved properly, and the Commissioner had no reason to be displeased with his conduct.³² In June 1827, he paid a visit to Bithur, and asked the Commissioner to bring his hardships to the notice of the Governor-General. He also wanted to go to Bombay and see the Governor. Johnson pointed out that he "had no authority whatever to interfere in his affairs" and he should apply to the magistrate of Cawnpore.³³ Ramdin next attempted to gain some advantages through the mediation of Ramchandra Pant but failed. He then left Bithur and proceeded to Cawnpore.³⁴ Soon after, Johnson learnt that Ramdin had formed a plot to assassinate Ramchandra Pant, attack Bithur and kidnap one of the sons of Baji Rao.³⁵ It sounded so wild and fantastic that Johnson doubted if Ramdin had not lost his reason. After the examination of a few witnesses, Ramdin was produced before the magistrate of Cawnpore and interrogated³⁶. The magistrate advised him to leave the town and settle down in his native village. Nothing further was heard about this, and reporting these details to the Governor-General in March 1828, Johnson concluded that Ramdin had relinquished his designs on Bithur.³⁷

Johnson's period of office at Bithur terminated about the end of 1828. He took a short leave in November and the charge of the Commissioners' office was taken over by G.W. Bacon the magistrate of Cawnpore.³⁸ Bacon continued in office till the middle of January 1829 when he too applied for leave of one month and

30. *Ibid.*

31. Pol. Pro. 11 April 1828 (46) I. R. D.

32. *Ibid.*

33. *Ibid.*

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*

36. Pol. Pro. 11 April 1828 (46) I. R. D.

37. *Ibid.*

38. Pol. Pro. 3 Oct. 1828 (14-16) I. R. D.

left the station.³⁹ He must have extended his leave, for we find his substitute H. S. Oldfield working in the Commissioner's office about the end of February.⁴⁰ Neither Bacon nor Oldfield were willing to carry on Johnson's work in addition to their duties at Cawnpore. Bacon must have been happy to deliver over the charge of the Commissioner's office to J. Irwin who succeeded him on 3rd June 1829.⁴¹

Dewani and Criminal Jurisdiction.

[By Mr. Anil Chandra Banerjee, M.A., P.R.S]

It is generally assumed that the assumption of the *Dewani* invested the East India Company with civil jurisdiction alone. This view requires modification.

On January 17, 1771, the Governor-in-Council¹ in their Secret Department wrote to the English officers at Murshidabad to secure from the *Naib Subah* (Muhammad Reza Khan) an explanation of the line of distinction that was to be observed between the affairs of the *Dewani* and those of the *Nizamat*. The reply of the *Naib Subah* was communicated to Calcutta from Murshidabad on February 11, and taken into consideration at a meeting of the Committee of Revenue (presided over by the Governor himself) on April 1. The full text of the reply is given below. It contains a clear exposition of the working of the two branches of the Government before the advent of the East India Company, and it seems to contain an interesting confession to the effect that the original system might be modified to suit the convenience of the new 'Principals' (i.e., the Company).

THE DOCUMENT.²

"FROM THE NAIB SOUBAH,

The Gentlemen of Council desired to be informed, whether by the Expression of enquiring into complaints and adjusting disputes, not deserving of Capital Punishment, it is meant that all Misdemeanors, Riots, and Matters of Property shall fall under the Cognizance of the Dewanny." I think it is necessary to give the following Explanation.

39. Pol. Pro. 26 Dec. 1828 (35) I. R. D.

40. Pol. Pro. 13 March 1829 (44) I. R. D.

41. Pol. Pro. 19 June 1829 (79) I. R. D.

1. John Cartier.

2. Proceedings of the Comptrolling Committee of Revenue, April 1, 1717, pp. 30-35.

3. This enquiry shows that the Council wanted jurisdiction over all civil and criminal cases "not deserving of Capital Punishment."

The adjusting of all Disputes relating to the Boundaries of Land whether Zemindaries, or Lands held by Charity, or for private Emolument, denominated *Melik*, the settling of Debates regarding the Limits of cultivated or uncultivated grounds, for the Extension of each others Jurisdiction, respecting the Duties of *jilker* and Boats the clearing up of all controversies arising from the Encroachments by Enlargements made by the River, the Settlement of Inheritances and Patrimonies and fixing the Boundaries of Lands held on Religious and honorary accessions such as *Akema*, *Khyrat*, *Berhmater*, *Devoter*, *Peeran*, *Fakiran*, and *Mahoteran*, and enquiring into complaints of Oppressions or illegal Demands being made on the Ryotts, or of any Usurpation of their Property and the adjustment of Debts due from the Zemindars and Ryatts, to private much a [.....] all appertain to the Dewanny. From an antien [ancient?] Institution the power of Investigating Zemindarries, of appointing and dismissing *Aumils* and *Tasildars*, of settling the *Bundibust* of the Districts and promoting and Encouraging Cultivation and Population of Scrutinizing the Papers of the *Hustabood*, and the Authority as well as the Affairs of the country and Revenue, have been so far vested on the Dewanny, that the Dewan having considered of the Measures Necessary to be taken, carried them into Execution, with the Consent and Approbation of the Nazim. In all Dewanny Sannuds whether for Zemindarries, Talookdarries or the like, it is expressed, that We have been granted, agreeably to the Terms signed by the Nazim and if you will let the Old Sunnuds be examined, you will find that all Affairs of the country were transacted with the Approbation of the Nazim. As the Gentlemen of Council have required of me an Explanation of the Original constitution of the Dewanny, I have done it thus particularly [.....] You are Principals and [.....] to your pleasure, whatever you do more, will be [.....] carried into Execution.*

The Council observe that the protecting of Talookdars which Belongs to the Nizamut and adjusting their Right, which appertains to the Dewanny, seem to clash one with the other and have requested an Explanation which I shall give as follows.

[.....] intention of sending guards into the Talooks in the [.....] [Mofussil?] is only to give Protection to the Proprietors from having [.....] Rights encroached upon or usurped by seditious people residing without their Borders, and to defend the Ryats and Inhabitants from the oppression of comers and Goers. Exclusive of which the collection of the Revenue &c. adjusting the Boundaries and settling Disputes of that Nature is the Business of the *Aumil* [.....] *shickdar*, who acts in the behalf of the Dewan. If at any place a Disturbance arises between the Guards, sent on part of the Nizamut and the Passengers in which Murder is committed, the crime is deserving of Capital Punishment and the trial of it

4. For explanations of the terms italicised in this, paragraph see Wilson, *Glossary of Judicial and Revenue Terms*, pp. 12, 23, 58, 93, 134, 155, 202, 227, 274, 318, 325, 418, 500.

belongs to the Nizamut⁵, or if at any time it be necessary to send any Additional Force to the Guards, it cannot be effected without Nazim, who has the Authority over the Army. The Duan therefore requests it of the Nazim, and after preparing a *Dustuck* under the seal of the Nizamut, appoints the Guards either from some of his own people or from the servants of the Nazim and sends them into the Mofussul. For this Reason *Dusticks* for the protection of Talooks have been from ancient practice granted by [.....] Nizamut, and adjusting the Rights of Talookdars, which [.....] affairs of the country, has always been a Privilege vested in the Dewanny, which cannot be performed by the Guards, nor does the business of the one interfere with the other.”⁶

On receipt of the above reply from the *Naib Subah* the comptrolling Committee of Revenue wrote to the Murshidabad Council:—

“Although we wish to interfere as little as possible with the Business that appertains to the Nizamut and [is] established by the long usage of the Country yet as *we are desirous of checking the arbitrary Proceedings of the Moorish Courts of Justice from a Duty we owe to the happiness and Security of the Inhabitants*,⁷ we must therefore desire that you will give the strictest attention to prevent Injustice as much as possible by proper Representations to Government⁸ as occasions offer.”⁹

There is evidence to show that the officers of the Company did not confine themselves merely to “proper Representations to Government.” In 1771 some *Molunges* of Mandalghat Pargana complained to the Comptrolling Committee of Revenue against Kriparam Mukherjee, a *Gomastah* in the Salt Department of the Company. The Resident of Burdwan sent his assistant, Mr. Marriot, to “enquire, and if he finds on examination the *Gomastah* has been guilty of the crimes¹⁰ laid to his charge, to confine and send him Prisoner to this Factory.” Mr. Marriot reported that the *Gomastah* was guilty of “violent, unfair and unwarrantable Proceedings”. The accused was sent to Calcutta “under a Guard of a Naik and three sepoys”, and a Sub-Committee consisting of three members of the Comptrolling Committee of Revenue was formed to try the case.¹¹ Such cases conclusively demonstrate the assumption of partial criminal jurisdiction by the Company.

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5. What happens if the crime is not “deserving of Capital Punishment”?
 6. For explanations of the terms italicised in this paragraph, see Wilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 23, 128, 480.
 7. Italics ours. These words are very significant. It is clear that as early as 1771 some officers of the Company regarded themselves as responsible for “the happiness and Security of the Inhabitants.”
 8. The Nawab or the Company?
 9. Proceedings of the Comptrolling Committee of Revenue, May 21, 1771, page 343.
 10. Not violation of civil laws.
 11. Proceedings of the Comptrolling Committee of Revenue, Vol. I, pp. 232-235, 297-301, 304-305, 307-308, 348-349, 366, 369-378.

Lord Auckland On Emigrant Labour

(Based on Mss. in the I. R. D.)

[By Mr. Nirmal Chandra Sinha, M.A.]

I

The Industrial Revolution had made Britain the workshop of the world and Waterloo had imposed on her a huge tropical empire. Her *Nabobs* had now to face problems of labour due to the anti-slavery movement sponsored by Wilberforce and Clarkson. The Negroes emancipated by the Act of 1833 naturally refused to work under their old masters. The planters in their crisis discovered that the labourers of India and China were cheaper but more efficient. This started the indentured labour system in the thirties of the last century. There is however evidence to prove that the planters were awaking to this fact from the very beginning of the century.¹ The organised emigration of *coolies* however started on the termination of slavery. The ignorant *coolies* were more often than not victims of false representation and fraud at the hand of the recruiting agents while the wages and conditions of life in the plantations made the *coolies* practically tenure slaves. Indian intelligentsia resented the traffic and the conscience of British Parliament soon discovered the fallacy of permitting it. Hence by Acts V and XXXII of 1837 the Company's Government in India severely restricted it and by Act XIV of 1839 it was stopped entirely. Considerations of space forbid us to discuss the implications of *coolie* trade, the alleged evils and the effects of this managed folk-movement on India and the colonies.² For our purpose we should only note here that the planters in the colonies raised a hue and cry against this embargo on embarkation of *coolies*. Ultimately in 1842 the authorities at Leadenhall Street and Chowringhee were persuaded to permit such emigration to Mauritius on certain conditions (Act XV of 1842). This privilege was slowly extended to other British and even some foreign colonies during the next forty years.

II.

Lord Auckland's Governor-Generalship (1836-42) roughly coincided with the first phase of this organised emigration. The unfortunate pro-consul who was recklessly applying Palmerston's

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1. The Parliamentary Paper: *Supply of Labourers from the East*, No. 225 of 1810-11 (House of Commons) must contain ample evidence on this point. Like all Parly. Papers on Emigration (19th Cent.) which number about one hundred, as may be gathered from the printed index of Parly. Papers, this is unfortunately not available even in the Government of India Secretariat Library. Martin: *History of British Colonies* (1834) also corroborates this conjecture about small scale emigrations before the Act of 1833.
 2. Sociological facts, like population and prices, imperialism: old and new, and the rise of the Nabobs and planters in the overseas empire and also of the Zamindars and coolies in India, will be considered elsewhere.

policy in Central Asia did not miss the importance of this movement and tried to tackle with the problems in his own way. The Indian Law Commission was consulted³ under instructions from the Court of Directors,⁴ reports were requisitioned from civilians who had visited Mauritius⁵, and correspondence was carried on with the island Government⁶. At first it was hoped that a few regulations would check the evils associated with emigration and the Acts V and XXXII of 1837, were the result. But the evils could not be checked due to the crafty resources of the planters and their Indian crimps. The Directors authorised Auckland's Government to resort to complete prohibition as a temporary measure⁷ and by Act XIV of 1839 the embarkation of *coolies* was entirely stopped. Now further correspondence was carried on with the Mauritius authorities⁸. Meanwhile, the Calcutta Committee, consisting of four Europeans and one Indian (Russumoy Dutt), appointed in August 1838, had almost finished its task. Its reports were submitted towards the end of 1840.⁹ The majority including the Indian member supported the embargo while the minority vehemently spoke against it on grounds of individual liberty, mutual benefits of the planters and the labourers, growth of plantation industries, and the expansion of tropical supplies. The minority view prevailed and ultimately on Dec. 2, 1842, a law was enacted permitting emigration to Mauritius on very strict and elaborate safeguards in the interests of the *coolies* (Act XV of 1842). Though Lord Ellenborough had succeeded Lord Auckland in March 1842, the ground for the Act was really prepared during the latter's administration. It is indeed difficult to assess the exact part played by Auckland in the evolution of this policy. But three of his minutes dated respectively February 23, 1837,¹⁰ July 3, 1838¹¹ and April 25, 1841¹² form very interesting reading. The following cuttings therefrom will indicate the Whig Governor-General's interest in matters of civil administration¹³.

The minute of Feb. 23, 1837 is a sort of introductory to the report submitted by T. C. Scott, Magistrate of Balasore, who went to Mauritius on sickleave and who was asked by Auckland to

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3. Home Pub. Progs. 1836 May 25, Nos. 1-2 and 1837 Feb. 1, Nos. 12-13.
 4. Home Pub. Letters from Court, 1835. Nos. 11 and 48.
 5. Home Pub. Progs. 1837 Feb. 1, No. 15 and April 5, No. 7.
 6. Home Pub. Progs. 1836 June 29, Nos. 5-7.
 7. Legislative Letters from Court, 1838. No. 9.
 8. Home Pub. Progs. 1839 Jan. 9, Nos. 20-21; Jan. 30, Nos. 21-23; Feb. 13, Nos. 17-18, 1840 Feb. 19, Nos. 10-11; May 13, Nos. 15-17.
 9. Home Pub. Progs. 1840 Nov. 4, Nos. 15-19. For both the notes of dissent see O. C.
 10. Home Pub. Progs. 1837 April 5, No. 7.
 11. Home G. G. Progs. 1838 July, No. 1.
 12. Home Pub. Progs. 1841 May 12, No. 1.
 13. See my articles in *Calcutta Review* (1941-42) and in *U. P. Hist. Sec. Journal* (1942-43) for some aspects of Auckland's civil administration.

report on the condition of the *coolies* there. From this minute (Para. 2) it is clear that Sec. III of Act V of 1837 was suggested by Auckland himself. It provided that no *coolie* could be made to contract his services for more than five years and that he was to be repatriated free of charge at the end of his contract. This time-limit was indeed the first great onslaught on the new form of slavery devised by the genius of colonial capitalism and this is to Auckland's credit *. The minute of July 3, 1838 was penned on his tours up the country and this fact shows that the pressure of diplomatic work relating to Oudh and Afganistan could not arrest the Governor-General's attention from this very vital issue confronting India and the Empire. Here (Para. 3) he points out that "It was in the national habit of Hill Coolie" to leave his home to labour for considerable periods, at a distance, and either to visit his family periodically, or to accumulate a small sum of money and to return and settle in his Native Country." He was "unwilling to interfere with the free agency of those industrious people" and preferred to see them emulate the Chinese in this respect. But he was too conscious of the utter ignorance and poverty of the Hill Coolies as also of the cunning of the planters. Hence there could be little "distinction between the bondsman and the slave." (Para. 3). So in 1839 (Act XIV) the emigration of *coolies* had to be stopped entirely pending the completion of enquiries and discussions in India and Britain. The Calcutta Committee submitted its reports towards the end of 1840. Auckland's minute of May 12, 1841 discusses these findings and records his own views. It reveals a mental and intellectual struggle between a Whig statesman with decided *laissez faire* leanings and an Indian Governor-General with real humanitarianism. He was opposed on principle to the law which curtailed the individual's freedom of contract, though he fully realised that the prohibitory act was not in fact pressing hard upon the rights and privileges of Indians and that emigration had not yet become a widespread or popular habit. (Paras. 3 and 14). He hoped that by such emigration the labouring classes would gain new experiences and widen their outlook and this would have beneficent repercussions on the wages and living conditions in India. (Para. 4). He did not conceal his desire to help Mauritius and other British colonies and even foreign colonies by an adequate supply of labour. (Para. 7). But he would not permit any fraud or force to interfere with the innocent lives. (Paras. 5, 6, 8, 9 and 14). He was familiar with "the iniquitous craft of the great city" (Para. 5) but that was not sufficient for him to penalise "the small spirit of enterprise" which the artisans in particular were evincing. (Para. 14). This was indeed the Manchester School ideology, and it contributed to the reopening of the emigration under certain conditions (Act XV of 1842).

14. The O. C. contains the corrections made by the Governor-General.

15. Kols, Santhals, etc.

Correspondence on Permanent Settlement 1861-1867

[By Dr. Bisheshwar Prasad, M.A., D.Litt.]

The Permanent Settlement had a peculiar charm for Anglo-Indian administrators for we find them reverting to this mode of fixing assessment on land from time to time. Since Cornwallis' arrangement in Bengal in 1793, suggestions of Permanent Settlement were made for the province of Madras, and the newly acquired North-Western Provinces. But no action could be taken thereupon and in spite of the declared promises of the Government, those areas remained subject to temporary settlements and frequent enhancements of revenue.

After the Mutiny, however, as a result of Col. Baird Smith's observations on the famine in the North-Western Provinces the subject of Permanent Settlement was taken up once again. He was greatly impressed by the growing poverty of the people and opined that a settlement of the claims of the Government upon land in perpetuity would greatly improve the condition of the agricultural population, thereby the possibility of famines will be comparatively minimised. In his report he referred to Madras and North-Western Provinces particularly. Col. Baird Smith's Report became thus the immediate occasion for opening the question. At the same time two other factors were also helping in the same direction. The comparative quiescence of Bengal during the Mutiny was responsible for the feeling in certain quarters that the Permanent Settlement had "kept the largest section of the Empire attached to us throughout the Mutiny". It might therefore be necessary to multiply such a section of prosperous land proprietors in other parts of the country as well. Moreover at the same time there was felt the need of settling a large mass of European colonists in the country, both for political and economic reasons. For their convenience, and with a view to bringing into cultivation large tracts of waste land, a redemption of land tax in perpetuity was suggested. The two questions of Permanent Settlement and redemption of land tax were considered together. Consequently a circular letter was sent to the various Provincial Governments on 7th October 1861 requesting their views on these two problems. The proceedings in the Revenue Department contain some valuable papers and correspondence on the subject of Permanent settlement and general revenue policy of the Government of India. This question engaged the attention of the Government for about eight years, accumulating a large mass of official correspondence, some of which was, according to Baden Powell, collected together and printed in a book form in 1873 for official use. The Revenue Proceedings contain all the papers, the selection and publication of which would greatly benefit both the students of economic history as well as the administrators.

The series opens with the Madras Government letter in reply to the above circular. The southern Government did not feel the need of any fresh legislative measures, for according to them "the distinguishing feature of Ryotwary is the limitation in perpetuity of

the demand of the State on the land". They pointed out however, that subsequent to the Survey and Settlement introduced in 1855, "the revised assessments now being introduced are subject to revision after 50 years". The Madras Government was generally in favour of permanently fixing the share of produce which the State might take, though there was some difference of opinion with regard to its computation in money value. The minutes of the Governor and the members of the Council are important in so far as they clearly outline the implications of the Ryotwary system.

Next follow the Minutes of the members of the Governor-General's Executive Council on the Madras correspondence. In these Minutes were sketched the main principles on which a Permanent Settlement for all India could be devised. Mr. Cecil Beadon held "that all persons paying land revenue direct to the Government, whether they be ryots or whether they be zamindars, when once their lands have been surveyed and fairly assessed, are entitled to hold them at a fixed jumma forever"; and that "upon all persons paying land revenue direct to the Government, who do not possess a full heritable and transferable right in the soil, such a right should be expressly and distinctly conferred". He was of opinion that "the Government would do most wisely to confer a full proprietary right in the whole soil upon those who have the deepest and most direct interest in improving the land and developing its resources, and to limit its demand on account of land revenue to a fixed sum in perpetuity in every village in which a reasonable proportion of the lands have been brought under cultivation and assessment," relinquishing all rights to waste or uncultivated lands. Sir Samuel Laing generally concurred with the above views and desired consideration of this question on an all-India basis. He was clearly in favour of fixing the land assessment in money in perpetuity. He had no fears that it could lead to any financial injury to the State for with general prosperity and economic improvement, other taxation will increase. Even, if there be loss, he was prepared to adopt the Permanent Settlement. "We do not exist", he wrote, "as a Government merely to get the largest revenue we can out of the country, or even to keep the mass of the people in a state of uniform dead level". He advocated the Permanent Settlement on two conditions; "First that we should not throw away the cultivable but uncultivated lands; and second, that we should provide for the land bearing its fair share of local burdens". This was to ensure against the impolicy of Bengal Permanent Settlement.

These Minutes led to the issue of a general circular letter No. 1474 dated 20 March 1862 to the Governments of Bombay, Bengal, North-Western Provinces, the Punjab, Oudh and Central Provinces, calling for information and views on the subject. The replies of these Local Governments fully discussed the situation in their provinces. Sind, the Punjab and Central Provinces could not welcome a move of this nature because they felt that assessments there had not reached a stage of maturity which could justify their being fixed in perpetuity. The Local authorities were not prepared to forego the prospects of enhanced revenue. The only Local Government

which favoured the measure was the North-Western Provinces Government. The Minutes of Mr. Muir of the Board of Revenue and Mr. Edmonstone, the Lieutenant Governor, are two important documents bearing on the subject. They favoured the Permanent Settlement. Mr. Muir weighed the advantages and disadvantages of the Permanent Settlement and concluded that "the advantages of a settlement in perpetuity appear to me vastly to outweigh them all; and I most decidedly advocate the measure". Another important paper is the Minute by the Governor of Bombay dated 3 March 1862 in which he sketched the position of revenue settlement in Bombay. Sir Bartle Frere was opposed to a perpetual fixity of money demand, though he advocated a limiting in perpetuity of the share of the State in the produce of land.

The discussions in 1862 bore fruit as the Secretary of State in his Despatch of the 9th July 1862 decided "that the measure shall or may be introduced into those parts of India which fulfil certain conditions laid down as necessary for its reception". The papers subsequently relate not so much to the propriety of the measure as to its applicability to the various parts of the country. The Note of Mr. Muir and the Minute of Mr. Drummond, the Lieutenant Governor of the North-Western Provinces, dated 20 July 1863 are again very clear and comprehensive analysis of the position. They pleaded for the adoption of the perpetual settlement and considered the province to be in a fit condition to receive it. The Viceroy reviewed the position in his Minute dated 5th March 1864 and came to the conclusion that "with one or two exceptions, the districts in the North-West Provinces do, in whole or in part, fulfil those conditions (as laid down by the Secretary of State) and are therefore entitled to the benefit of a Permanent Settlement". He desired the revision of assessments finally "with a view to its being declared permanent for ever". This Minute of the Viceroy is devoted to the analysis of the mode by which Permanent Settlement could be expeditiously adopted in the Province without involving any risk of loss of revenue in future to the State. The formula adopted was that where about four-fifths of the land was under cultivation and the cultivable uncultivated land was a small proportion of the area, the Permanent Settlement should be made. For this purpose individual estates or parganas were to be taken as units. The Viceroy also wished to fix a limit beyond which the assessment on cultivable uncultivated land where it formed a larger proportion should not be enhanced, so that immediately or at no distant future the Permanent Settlement of those tracts be possible. The Government of India in their letter to the North-Western Provinces of June 1864 laid down the policy that "The present object of the Government is to confer upon the landholders of India the great advantages of a Permanent Settlement without undue sacrifice of revenue and without the creation of future serious inequalities of taxation". In this letter, in conformity with the suggestions of the Viceroy, detailed instructions were given to the Local Government for executing the Permanent Settlement.

By 1864 thus the only province which could be admitted to the benefits of the Permanent Settlement was the North-Western

Provinces. The other Provinces did not welcome the measure and the Secretary of State definitely excluded Madras and Bombay Presidencies from its operation. In the North-Western Provinces too, however, no progress could be made with the Permanent Settlement, for at a very early date question arose regarding the effect of canal irrigation on the value of the land. The Secretary of State in his Despatch No. 17, dated 17 March 1866 "referred for careful consideration the propriety of introducing a rule that no Permanent Settlement shall be concluded for any estate, the assets of which shall have been carried to the full extent at present contemplated, exceed in the opinion of the officers of the Settlement and Irrigation Departments, the existing assets in a proportion exceeding 20 per cent". Discussion on this subject lasted for a few years, and ultimately the Permanent Settlement was abrogated even in the North-Western Provinces.

A study of these papers throws considerable light on the then mood of the Indian Governments. They were not prepared to sacrifice the certain and definite source of land revenue as a means of meeting the growing state expenditure. Financially they could take no risks, for they could not accept the advice of Sir Samuel Laing that moderate assessment permanently fixed could lead to general prosperity which would compensate the Government for any loss suffered on land revenue. In spite of the wise counsels of Muir, Drummond and Lawrence, the hen that lay the golden eggs was injured, with the result that enhancements of revenue continued to be a prominent feature of the revenue policy of India and famines, epidemics and chronic poverty followed.

Clive and the Company's Fire-Arms.

[By Dr. Nandalal Chatterji, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.]

While examining the original records relating to Clive's Second Governorship of Fort William, the writer of this paper came across some very interesting and hitherto unnoticed references to the extremely poor quality of both small arms and cannon which were usually supplied to the Company's troops in India during those days. Not only was the quality decidedly inferior, its supply was also uncertain and inadequate, and also liable to frequent interruptions. This is why Clive was more than once obliged to make strong representations about this in his letters to the authorities in England.

From the stray references in the records it would appear that the fire-arms supplied from England had usually two defects. Firstly, these were nearly always badly produced and ill-finished. Secondly, the metal used for the manufacture of the firearms was not suitably tempered so as to stand the extremities of climate in India.

According to Clive, the reasons responsible for those defects were as follows:—

Firstly, only the cheaper brands of arms were purchased for reasons of economy.

Secondly, the Company did not obtain their supplies from those firms which were patronised by the Government of England.

Thirdly, the Military Store-Keeper's indents from India were not fully and carefully attended to. In fact, in their letters from the public department, the Council of Fort William frequently complained that their Military indents were not properly complied with. This is reiterated by Clive in one of his letters. (Letter to Court, Dec. 9, 1766).

Fourthly, ignorance of climatic variations in India was also responsible for imperfections in the quality of tempering.

That Clive attached very great importance to this subject will be apparent from one of his characteristically emphatic protestations to the Directors. It runs as follows:— "Of late years, the bad quality of your small arms in general have exposed your possessions to the greatest risk and danger". (Letter to Court, Sept. 30, 1765.)

It is interesting to note that Clive made the following useful suggestions in regard to the purchase of fire-arms:—

1. "We are therefore persuaded, it would prove in the end much to your advantage, if you purchased all your small arms of the same persons who furnished the Government."

2. ".....pay at the rate of twentyseven, instead of eighteen shillings per fire-lock, since experience demonstrates they will continue serviceable for double the time....."

3. "must request in strongest manner that you will supply us for the first year with 10,000 stands of arms, and afterwards with 4,000 annually, which will in future answer all our demands, if proper care be taken in the purchase."

4. Clive asked the Directors to send out three or four expert iron-founders from England, "as the casting of shot and shells in this country is an object of importance".

It appears that the Directors took no serious notice of Clive's representations on this point, and the troops never received adequate supplies of arms of the requisite quality. (Letter to Court, April 10, 1767). Even after Clive's departure the quality of the arms showed no improvement, and his immediate successor too similarly complained about it in the following words, "The indent for cannon and small arms, I likewise hope, will be fully complied with; of the former, many may prove useless on the very first trial....." (Letter to Court, March 28, 1768)

Some light on Administrative Economy of Lord William Bentinck.

[By Mr. O. P. Bhatnagar, M. A.]

When Lord William Bentinck held the reins of office he was charged with the task of introducing economy in the administrative machinery of the East India Company. Readiness on his part to introduce these measures of reform led to his unpopularity particularly with the army. But whatever Bentinck did in this direction it was at the behest of the Court. The despatches on which this article has been based give us an idea of his plan to economise in the sphere of revenue and judicial administration. In their despatch to the Governor-General the Court of Directors expressed clearly what they felt on the scheme but at the same time emphatically disapproved the idea of introducing any radical change for which the Government of India had not taken their previous sanction.

In a rather lengthy despatch dated Fort William the 25th Nov. 1828 and signed by the Governor-General and two members of the Council, *viz.*, Mr. W. B. Bayley and Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, we have an idea of the plan. The Governor-General and the Councillors suggested that appointment of commissioners specially authorised and required to make a full and detailed enquiry about the working of the civil and military departments of all Presidencies would prove very helpful. They wrote, "this enquiry it seemed to us would be most usefully conducted by two committees, one Civil and one Military composed of three members one from each of the Presidencies to sit at Calcutta". (Bengal Letters Vol. 105)

Accordingly the Government of Bengal requested the Governments of Bombay and Madras to make their recommendations. These committees were to work under the members of the Supreme Council, though the members were not to take any direct part in the work of the committees.

In another despatch of theirs dated Fort William 10th Dec. 1828, the Governor-General and the Councillors communicated to the Court of Directors their plan of efficiency and economy in the Revenue Deptt. They emphasised the necessity of employing a considerable number of Revenue-Commissioners vested with a controlling authority over a moderate tract of territory and acting intermediately between Collectors of districts and a General Board as stationed at the Presidency.

The Governor-General and his Councillors wrote, "We are thus able to provide with some reduction of expense, such a number of Commissioners of Revenue and circuit, as to secure that each may without difficulty superintend efficiently the affairs of distts. placed under him, even in quarters where circumstances call forth most minute interference and at the same time hold the half-yearly sessions with the regularity which justice and policy equally require. And after the maturest reflection we do not perceive that even on the strictest principles of those who advocate the system established by the code of 1793 such an

union of powers in the authority appointed to control the executive officers is liable to any serious objection".

In this despatch we also find a reference to the abolition of the offices of the Superintendents of Police for the sake of economy. As a plan for economy the Governor-General and Councillors also mentioned that the Government had resolved to combine a general revision of the allowances attached to the several offices held by the Covenanted Civil Servants. (Bengal Letters Vol. 105)

This plan was further elucidated by the Governor-General and Councillors in a separate despatch dated Fort William the 10th June, 1829. In this despatch we find a comment on the comparative rapidity with which the junior branches of the service had then attained promotion to situations of higher importance and emolument. In it are also contained suggestions for regulating travelling allowances and scale of pay. Thereby a saving of a sum of Rs. 3,55,064 could ultimately be effected. (Bengal Letters Vol. 107).

In their reply dated the 26th Jan. 1831, the Court of Directors commented on the proposals of the Governor-General and his Councillors regarding the appointment of 21 Commissioners and the readjustment of certain judicial functions; they wrote, "We could have wished that in a matter of the highest importance involving such great changes in the judicial administrations you had submitted to us the result of your deliberations before you proceeded to carry your views into effect we should then have had an opportunity of considering whether the measures you suggested were the best calculated to remedy acknowledged evils with the least possible inconvenience".

More revealing are the remarks contained in the following passage "It is necessary to remind you that although the affairs of India cannot be conducted by means of specific directions from England in matters of minute detail, Local Governments are bound on all ordinary occasions to carry into effect the laws under the existing constitution of the state and not to make radical alterations in the system without permission from the Home authorities. We desire that you will inform us without further delay of the changes that you propose to introduce into the Civil Judicature and that you will abstain from all further alterations involving any material deviation from the established principles on which Justice is administered under your presidency without previous reference to us unless under circumstances which would not admit of such reference without manifest injury to the ends of good Government. (Bengal despatches Vol. 115).

It is no wonder, when the court placed such obstacles in the way of the Company's Government in India, that its administration was inefficient and dilatory. Means of communication were too slow in those times and it took a long time to receive back the approval of the Court to a particular scheme of the Supreme Government in Bengal. Severe tone of reprimand was enough to make any Government over-cautious.

The Dewan in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces.

[By Mr. R. N. Nagar, M.A.]

The progress of the Subordinate Services in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces led to deep repercussions — deeper than the historians have yet cared to admit or investigate. They remained¹ woefully corrupt and inefficient during the earlier period; and in this the Tahsildar exercised the most baneful influence. But there was yet another office, that of the Dewan, which wielded an even more powerful influence, than the Tahsildar. It was the seniormost and the highest paid office in the subordinate services; and it is surprising to note that in spite of its occupying such a high position, there are so few references on record relating to its progress.

The Dewan acted as a sort of personal assistant to the Collector. He assisted² him mainly in his judicial responsibilities, and helped him in the discharge of other functions as well. It may, however, be pointed out that originally the office seems to have been instituted with a definite motive, as the following observation of the Board of Revenue would indicate³:— “Before the present system of revenue administration was introduced, the principal native officers attached to the collectorships were entrusted with a considerable degree of responsibility and it appears to have been intended that they should have acted as a sort of check upon the Collectors. In framing the Code of Regulations, this system was not altogether abandoned”. If the application of such a principle was seriously contemplated, then it betrayed shortsightedness on the part of the Government to have created such a wide difference between the salaries, powers, and the status of the two, that the Dewan failed to serve as an effective counter-balance against the Collector, as the Board of Commissioners were constrained to admit⁴ later, “In fact, where the Collector himself superintends the executive duties of his catchery, the Dewan is little more than a cypher, or, at best, a mere ministerial officer”.

This, nevertheless, does not diminish the intrinsic significance of the office. Although the Collector was the most powerful and the highest dignitary in the district, he was very seriously handicapped⁵ by his imperfect acquaintance with, and even ignorance of the language, and the intricate customs, tenures, and usages of the country. Hence, such an office as that of the Dewan, which could have led him into the labyrinths of these problems, was not a matter of convenience, but of necessity. Also as he was singly in the control of a large and unwieldy district, and had to shoulder an enormous burden of responsibilities, he was forced to delegate much of the details to be looked after by the Dewan, who thus acquired greater influence than was actually intended.

1. *The Mofussil Special Commission* by the Writer,—17th Session of the Indian Historical Record Commission.

2. Preamble, Reg. XV of 1813.

3. Letter to the Governor-General-in-Council, 12th October, 1813.

4. Letter to the Governor-General-in-Council, 27th October, 1813.

5. Government Revenue Records, 1818-20.

But the special interest that attaches to this office is in connection with the notorious part that it played in organising nefarious rings of subordinate officers to defraud the landholders, and, incidentally, the Government, on a large and systematic scale. And the surprising point is that in spite of his being the nerve-centre of these conspiracies, he usually managed to escape their detection and exposure. In fact, even now the extent of his baneful influence has been far from correctly estimated. This was mainly because the Dewan always remained in the background, pulled the strings from behind, and ran far less risks than those who actually carried out the frauds.

There were several factors which contributed to his success so completely in his malpractices. The Provinces had been in a deplorable state under the previous Governments, and the British Government aggravated the situation still further by pursuing a shortsighted policy, particularly in connection with the increment of revenue, which was already exorbitant, and in dealing with the tenures of the country. In the resulting confusion hardly any control or vigilance could be exercised on the actions of subordinate officers.

Again, the subordinate officers were deeply discontented with the treatment that was meted out to them. The salaries allotted to them were wholly disproportionate to the responsibilities and the dignity of their offices, which provided them with the direct temptation of augmenting income by dishonest means and, worse than that, they had no further prospects in the services in which they were employed. Finally, they had a virtual monopoly over the data and details concerning the revenue administration, and finding the Collector's inability to exercise proper vigilance on them, because of the latter's lack of grasp of the intricacies of these details, they widely indulged in the malpractices, and more so, when they found that in this manner they could collect a much greater fortune, than they could have otherwise done! The discontentment and disaffection of the subordinate officers, made them a willing tool in the hands of the Dewan, for whom the facility of spreading his net of intrigue, was thus, greatly increased. There was yet another, and a subtle factor which aided him immensely. The important ones amongst the subordinate services were so closely interdependent that if one was affected, the rest were bound to be disturbed; and so once that deterioration had set in, one and all they joined hands in these conspiracies. Moreover, the Dewan had one distinct advantage. He was occupying such a privileged position that by sheer tact and cunning, he managed to gain control over the appointments and dismissals of other subordinate officers, who were, therefore, forced to dance to his tune.

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6. *Early Revenue Policy of the East India Company in Ceded and Conquered Provinces* by the Writer.
 7. For instance, see *The Kinungu in the North-Western Provinces* by the Writer. —18th Session of the I. H. R. C.
 8. Petition of Syed Ameer Ali, April, 1816,—Proceedings of the Board of Revenue.

As a result of these fraudulent practices, he contrived to gather a princely fortune in a short time. One 'Meer Reeayut' was stated to have amassed thirty lacs of rupees, while another person was known to have collected twenty lacs in a far shorter time.

It was in the year 1813 that the Government decided to put an end to his misdeeds by abolishing his office itself. Besides its corrupt state, there were other reasons¹⁰ which led to such a drastic step. A letter addressed by the Board of Revenue observed,¹¹ "The records of the Board offered abundant proofs of the evils which have resulted from this constitution of the office of the Dewan, and the time of the members has often been unprofitably occupied in investigating disputes between the Collectors and the Dewans." The Board of Commissioners agreed¹² with the first conclusion, though they pointed out that to their knowledge the instances of disputes between the Collector and Dewans were not so frequent. They found¹³ that the office was not so useful as was generally supposed to be, for, they argued, in places where the office had remained vacant for a considerable period, the efficiency of work had not suffered. They also reported that in face of the powers exercised by the Collector, the Dewan was often reduced to a nonentity. Finally, they advocated the abolition of the office, but at the same time added¹⁴ justly, "The only objection of which we are aware is that the abolition will remove (?) the small number of offices in which the higher classes of Natives can find employment under the British Government, and tend to weaken the slender tie which connects them with the Government. But, we may observe that the office is more frequently bestowed on a private dependent of the Collector than on the persons of the description to which we allude". And thus it was that the office of the Dewan came to an abrupt and ignominious end in the year 1813.

Dasturul Amal of Jawahar Mal Baikus¹ (1144 A.H.).

(Continued)

[By Dr. Mohd. Aziz Ahmad, M.A., LL.B., Ph.D.]

The Third Court describes the means by which peace and tranquillity was maintained in the realm. *Nazims* (Chief Administrative Officers) and *Amils* (revenue collectors) were appointed to look after the

10. Preamble, Reg. XV of 1813.

11. Letter to the Governor-General-in Council, 12th October, 1813.

12. Letter to the Governor-General-in-Council, 27th October, 1813.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*

1. The first instalment of this article appeared in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, Vol. XVII. The present instalment is concerned with the 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Courts of the Manuscript.

condition of the people and to secure their welfare by enforcing laws,² and also to effect the assessment of revenue from *Zamindars*. These officers sent in their *Arzdashis* (reports) mentioning their routine work³ *Dastaks* (orders) were given through an officer to *Darogha-i-fil Khana* (Superintendent of elephant stable) and elephant keepers to the effect that all the required weapons be repaired through the office of *Mir-i-saman*⁴ (Head Steward); *Darogha-i-Shutr Khana* (Superintendent of camel stable) and camel drivers were directed to be ready with all their requisites; *Daroghai-i-Top Khana* (Superintendent of artillery), *Daroghai-i-Astabal* (Superintendent of stable), *Daroghai-i-Salah Khana* (Inspector of weapons) *Daroghai-i-Farrash Khana* (Superintendent of store house) and the *Kotwal* were all given instructions to perform their duties efficiently. Here, names of all the important implements of war are mentioned.⁵

Sometimes, applications were sent to *Faujdar*, *Amin* and *Shiqdar* with the request⁶ that a portion of infantry and cavalry and two big guns be supplied to cope with the local insurrectionaries. At times it happened that the people of a locality refused to pay revenue inspite of threats and persuasion⁷; they were severely dealt with and reduced to submission. Orders were also issued to *Zamindars* of the *Mihal* to suppress the refractory element of the populace.⁸ The *Nazim* of the *Chakla* (administrative unit) reported¹⁰ that the Government force advanced towards Badaun to punish the rebels and to establish peace. In compliance with the above orders, replies of the *Khwaja-i-Saman*, *Zamindars* and *Jamadar* (Officer in the army) are also mentioned¹¹. *Dastak* was given to *Akbar-navis* (reporters) that he should provide exhaustive information regarding all happenings, rumours, etc. and the conduct and doings of rebellious people.¹² Then follows a description of several fights against the rebels and their submission.

The Fourth Court is concerned with the assessment and collection of land revenue. The *Diwan* (Wazir), *Munshi* (Head Clerk), *Khan-i-Saman* (Chief Steward) *Mustaufi* (Accountant) and *Huzar Navis* (Secretary at the Court) and their *Peshkars* (assistants) were ordered to move ten or twelve steps behind the *Palki* (palanqueen) *Bakhshi* (pay master) about forty or fifty steps behind the army with its right and left wings¹³. *Jamadar* (army officer) and *Dafadar* (cavalry officer) were to move independently;

2. f: 50a.

3. fs: 51b and 52a.

4. f: 53b.

5. f: 54a.

6. f: 54b.

7. f: 55a.

8. f: 55b.

9. f: 56a.

10. f: 56b.

11. f: 57b.

12. f: 58b.

13. fs. from 59a to 61a.

horsemen were to move according to their rank and behind the *Jamadar* were the soldiers. Then behind these moved the *Darogai-i-Top Khana*. The procession halted in some village in a garden or establishment near the place of assessment. *Zamindars*, *Muqaddams*, public and peasants of the *Moaza* came in attendance. Allowances were given to the cultivators on the recommendation of *Chaudhris* and *Canungos*¹⁴. These officers executed *Machalkas*¹⁵ (bonds) to the effect that at the time of checking of accounts, they would offer no pretext.¹⁶ They agreed by executing bonds that if their services ever interfered with the welfare and prosperity of the people or through their negligence any farm became barren or there was any defect in the realisation of revenues, they would hold themselves responsible and without any 'ifs' and 'ands' would give up their jobs.¹⁷ They further submitted applications and received replies¹⁸.

Zamindars, *Muqaddams* and *Patwaris* of the *Mihal* also executed bonds and agreed to realise and pay the land revenue to *Kotu K ana*¹⁹ (Government Treasury). A person stood security for their presence and attendance whenever required,²⁰ and another person took a security for the payment of revenue²¹. The Certificates were issued granting charge of *Khalsa* land²² (under government management). Money realised as land revenue was deposited in the *Fota Khana* and application was made to the *Diwan* for the grant of receipt for the same²³. A *Vakil* also signed the *Machalka*. The *Diwan* then issued a receipt of payment²⁴.

The Fifth Court is concerned with Justice. In every province and city a *Qazi* and *Mufti* were appointed for administering justice²⁵. Before the Department of Justice, Hindus and Muslims, rich or poor, were all treated alike. *Phrashes* (carpet spreaders) were ordered to make preparation for the holding of the Court and informed the *Daroghah-i-Adalat* (Superintendent of the Court), *Mushrif* (Treasury-Officer) and *Ahlkarans* (Servants) to be present. The *Qazi* and the *Mufti* took their seats according to their rank. The drum was beaten so that any citizen who might have any complaint may present his case²⁶. Then follows a description of various documents²⁷ such as *bainama* (sales deed) according to which a person sold property to

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- 14. f: 63a
 - 15. f: 63b
 - 16. f: 64a
 - 17. f: 66a
 - 18. fs. 64a, 64b, 65a & 65b.
 - 19. fs. 66b and 67a
 - 20. f. 67a
 - 21. f. 67b
 - 22. fs. from 68b to 70a.
 - 23. f: 73a
 - 24. f: 74b.
 - 25. f: 77a
 - 26. f: 77b
 - 27. fs. from 78b to 79b

another and executed a document²⁸, or borrowed money²⁹, or freed a slave or divorced wife or a wife demanded a divorce³⁰. A Wakil's letter appointing his representative³¹ is also mentioned.

The Sixth Court deals with enjoyment, the arrangement of *Majlis-i-Aish*³² and *Pa* celebrations

The Seventh Court deals with resignation of services such as applications of *Vakils*³³ and *Faujdar*³⁴ and with some other miscellaneous accounts.

A Farman of Emperor Shah Jahan.

[By Dr. A. Halim, M.A., Ph.D.]

The above mentioned Farman exists in original in the Subhanullah Collection of the Muslim University Oriental Mss. Its exact transcription is given in the foot note No. 1.¹ It is written in very fine Nastaliq hand, as beautiful as many of the pieces of the fine arts of the reign of Shah Jahan, and measures 19" x 14 1/2".

28. fs.: 80b and 81a.

29. f: 82a

30. f: 83a

31. f: 83b

32. f: 91a

33. f: 93a

34. f: 96a

35. f: 96b

معتهد کفایت شعار شاه بیگ بختایت عالی اسیدوار بوده بداند (1)
که چون درینوالا شجاعت شعار قاضی عبدالرسول ملازم سرکار عالی
بوسیله بازیافتگان حضور پر نور بعرض عالی متعالی رسانید که
فرزندان و محمد منعم برادر موسی الیه در پرگنه بلگرام سکونت
دارند لهذا حکم والا شرف نفاذ یافت که چون پرگنه مذکور
درجوار پرگنات امینی آن کفایت شعار واقع است کارو مطلبی که
محمد منعم مذکور بان معتهد اظهار کند در انجام آن سعی نماید و
از حسن سلوک خود متعلقان مشارالیه را رضامند دارد و نیز
بعرض رسانید که سرون وغیره مهاجران موضع شرف الدین پور ملک
موسی الیه از تعدی زمینداران پرگنه ملانوه بیجا شده اند باید که
آنها را دلالتا نهوده درجائے خود آباد سازد و متعدیان مسطور را مانع
آید که من بعد در ضد آزار و مزاحمت متوطنان موضع مذکور
قیامند در این باب تاکید تمام داند تحریراً فی التاریخ بیست و هفتم شهر
ربیع الثانی سنه ۲۶۷۰ جلوس میمنت مانوس موافق و مطابق سنه ۱۰۴۳ -

At the top of the Farman there are three seals—two on the left and one on the right. The two left hand seals are both inscribed in Tughra character with red ink and are rectangular. One is just below the other and both measure 3" × 1'8". The one at the top reads as "By order of Abul Muzaffar Shahabuddin Muhammad, the victorious Emperor Shah Jahān, Sahibqiran II," and below it are inscribed "Dārā Shukoh, the beloved son of the Emperor of sublime good fortune and elevated rank." The right hand seal is in black ink and round in shape and reads as "Muhammad Dārā Shah Qadri, son of Shah Jahān, the victorious Emperor" and it bears the date 1064 within the seal.

The reverse side bears this remark in excellent characters "To Shaikh 'Abdul Karim, Minister of Finance, the refuge of nobility and of eminent wisdom, and the confidant of our sublime Majesty", as is shown in footnote No. 1 along with the text. Elsewhere a seal bears the endorsement "has been seen."

Translation :—"The trusted and competent Shah Beg being expectant of the favour of our Majesty should know that recently the brave Qāzi 'Abdur Rasul, the servant of our Majesty's government has submitted his petition through the courtiers of our illumined presence to the effect that the sons and Muhammad Mun'em the brother of the aforesaid petitioner ('Qāzi 'Abdur Rasul) reside in the Pargana of Bilgrām." Consequently our Majesty's order is issued to the effect that since the aforesaid Pargana is in the vicinity of the Parganas in the custody of that competent person (Shah Beg), whatever assistance the aforesaid Muhammad Mun'em may require in any business from that trustworthy person (Shah Beg), he should endeavour for its fulfilment and should please the dependents of the aforesaid (Qāzi 'Abdur Rasul) with his good treatment. The latter has also brought to our Majesty's notice that Sarvan and other money-lenders of Sharfuddīnpur village which is in the possession of the aforesaid person (Shah Beg) have been

On the reverse side:—

بزرگوار وزارت و نیابت پناه شرافت و معالی
دستگاه مزاجدان عہدہ جناب عالی شیخ عبدالکریم۔

(2) بفرمان ابوالظفر شہاب الدین محمد بادشاہ شاہجہان غازی
صاحبقران ثانی

(3) والاشان عالی اقبال بادشاہزادہ دلہند سلطان محمد دارا شکوہ -

(4) محمد دارا شکوہ ابن شاہجہان بادشاہ غازی القادری ۱۰۶۶ -

5. I am indebted to Maulana Zia Ahmad, Lecturer in Persian, Muslim University, my colleague, for help in this respect.

6. In Hardoi District, U.P. The inhabitants of Bilgram were and are famous for their learning and sanctity and according to Abul Fazl for their "love of singing" as well. In Akbar's days it formed a Pargana of the Lucknow Sarkar. Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari*, Jarrett's Tr. II., pp. 173, 178.

ejected by the Zamindars of Mallanwa Pargana; therefore he should give them assurance and settle them in their lands. The aforesaid oppressors should be warned that hereafter they should not harass and oppress the inhabitants of that locality. He (Shah Beg) should take every care in that respect.

Written on the 27th Rabi II, in the 26th year of the august accession corresponding to 1063 (26th March, 1653)."

Historical material:—Qazi 'Abdur Rasul who had petitioned the Emperor for the assistance of his son and brother who held Jagirs in the Pargana of Bilgram and Shah Beg (Khan) to whom the Farmān was addressed and Shaikh 'Abdul Karim of the Revenue Dept. are historical figures. We come across three 'Abdur Rasuls in Shah Jahān's reign. 'Abdur Rasul, son of Fath Khan Governor of Daulatabad, is mentioned by 'Abdul Hamid Lahori in *Badshahnama* as being sent by his father twice to the court of Delhi with presents, and once as a hostage. Through the same authority we know of one Syed 'Abdur Rasul of Barha, "a very handsome youth" who was killed in action against Amar Singh, son of Raja Gaj Singh in 1644.⁸ This man could not be the one of the Farmān who was living in the 26th year of Shah Jahān's reign. None of these two is named in *Badshahnama* in the list of nobles. In *Badshahnama* of 'Abdul Hamid Lahori, 'Abdul Rasul, son of 'Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang⁹ figures as mansabdar of 500 Zat and 4 hundred horse, a sufficient dignity for a scholar. In the same list¹⁰ Shah Beg Khan is mentioned as a mansabdar of 4 thousand with a sawār rank of 3 thousand. He is the only noble of that name in the reign of Shah Jahān. Though we get a full account of 'Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang, a premier noble of Shah Jahān's reign with a rank of 6 thousand and a sawār rank of the same number (whose original name was Khwajah 'Abdullah), through the *Badshahnama* and *Ma'asir ul Umara*,¹¹ nothing more is known about his son 'Abdur Rasul beyond the fact that he held a mansab of 500. The author of *Ma'asir* simply informs us in connection with the account of 'Abdullah Khan that "none of his sons attained distinction. Mirza 'Abdul Rasul served in the Deccan." On the other hand we can collect a systematic account regarding Shah Beg Khan Uzbek from the two above-mentioned authorities.¹² The following is the summary of both of these histories.

Shah Beg Uzbek was conferred the title of 'Khan' in the year of Emperor Shah Jahān's accession and a mansab of one thousand.

7. Mallanwah Pargana is in Bilgram Tahsil, Hardoi Dist., U.P. Mallanwah figures in the *Ain* (Jarrett II, 179) as a Pargana of Lucknow Sarkar.

8. *Badshahnama* I, Abdul Hamid Lahori, ASB 394.

9. *Ibid* II, 747.

10. *Ibid* 721.

11. II, 777-89. 'Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang died in Allahabad in 1054 H. (1644) in the 70th year of his age while holding the governorship of Allahabad Sarkar.

12. In *Ma'asir* (ASB) II, 605 ff. and incidental references in *Badshahnama*

His rank increased from time to time as the result of the recognition of his services in fighting against the rebel Jhujhar Singh Bundela, and Shāhji Bhonsla (under the command of Khān Zaman). In the 10th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was conferred a manṣab of 4 thousand and made the commandant of the Junnār fort. In the 15th year of Shāh Jahān's reign he was made the Governor of Berār. In the 18th year of the reign, when he returned to the court, he was made the Faujdār of Mewāt. In the 19th year of the reign he was chosen as one of the great generals under the supreme command of Prince Murād Bakhsh to participate in Balkh and Badakhshān wars. In the 20th year he was made the Governor of Ghori with the ostensible purpose of curbing the rebellious activities of his kinsmen who wanted to profit from the Imperial reverses in the Badakhshān war. On his return in the 21st year of the reign the governorship of Mewāt having changed hands, he was sent as "an officer in charge of some Maḥāls (Parganas) in Berār Subah."¹³ In the 28th year he was sent as the Faujdār of Ahmadnagar. He was dismissed from the service of the court in the 29th year and next year he joined prince Aurangzeb and took part in the operations against Quṭbūl Mulk, the Governor of Haiderabād. He is last noticed as the Faujdār of Aurangabād at the time of Prince Aurangzeb's march towards Delhi to contest the throne.

This Farmān fills a gap in the history of Shāh Beg Khān. In the 28th year, we see him being sent as the commandant of Ahmadnagar Fort.¹⁴ Between the 21st and 28th years of the reign he is only noticed as an officer in Berār, perhaps a Sarkār Governor or Faujdār. The exact dates of his appointment or tenure are not given. Shāh Beg Khān may reasonably be presumed to be holding the governorship of the Lucknow Sarkār, for he is mentioned in the Farmān as "the custodian of Bilgrām Pargana and those in its vicinity." He might have held this office either before or after his being sent to Berār. It is more reasonable to assume of his holding Lucknow Sarkār in the 26th year of accession after his service in Berār. We have examples of nobles of a rank of 6 thousand and a sawār rank of the same number being appointed in charge of Sarkārs.¹⁵ This document therefore supplies us with a missing link in Shāh Beg's life, omitted by the contemporary historians. I have not yet been able to definitely know the place whose Qāzi 'Abdur Rasūl was in 1653. That he was not in the capital is evident from his representation through courtiers. Though we learn from the author of *Ma'asir* that he served in the Deccan, the presumption is in favour of a place within or near the Lucknow Sarkār.

Mir 'Abdul Karīm is shown in *Badshahnama*¹⁶ as a manṣabdar

13. *Ma'asir* II, 666.

14. *Ibid* p. 666.

15. Cf. 'Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang, one of the foremost nobles of the reign was serving as the Governor of Allahabad Sarkar in the last years of his life. *Ma'asir* II. p. 789.

16. II. 732.

of one thousand five hundred with a Sawār rank of 200. From the same authority we gather that he held the office of the "Superintendent of Constructions" in the metropolis (Agra); we notice him next holding the office of the *Bakhshi* in addition to his former responsibility. 'Abdul Hamid informs that the total expenditure incurred by the Court in construction under 'Abdul Karim and Mukarramat Khan's charge amounted to 12 lacs of rupees in 12 years. In 1056 he gave up the charge of construction to Muttalib s/o Mu'tamid Khan and appears to have held the office of Revenue Minister, since then.

Next comes the question of the occasion of the *Farmān*. Qāzi 'Abdur Rasūl beseeches His Majesty's interference to protect his son and brother most probably against encroachment by Hindu chiefs, a frequent occurrence during the Mohammanadan rule in Northern India. Bilgrām had a fort and a mixed population of Syeds and Vaishes. The second portion of the document instructs Shāh Beg to afford protection to Sarvan and other Hindu money lenders of Sharfuddīnpur against the tyranny of the "Zamindārs of Mallānwāh", who had been wrongfully ejected from their lands. Mallānwāh is shown in the *Ain-i-Akbari*¹⁷ as being inhabited by the Vaish or the most influential of the bankers, businessmen and traders and naturally a non-martial community, and the conditions had not radically changed, (I am informed, have not changed even now) during Shāh Jahān's reign. The word *Zamindār* is often used by Mohammanadan historians to signify Hindu chiefs,¹⁸ very often Rajputs. The wordings of the *Farmān* show the paternal care and attention of the eastern despots for the well-being of their subjects irrespective of their creed.

The third point to be noticed in this document is the association of Prince Dārā Shukoh in the public acts of the reign as the heir designate. Besides the Imperial seal, a second seal was affixed by the Emperor in the name of the "beloved prince" adorned with such epithets as "Wālā-Shāh" and "Alf-Iqbāl"; and a third seal had to be affixed by the Prince in his own name to validate a document.

Next, the wording of the *Farmān* is not couched in the imperative mood. It is worded as *Farmān* are, in conventional style of courtesy, as if addressed in the third person.

The *Farmān* was prepared by the Department concerned, on the 27th Rabi II, 1063. The seal of Prince Dārā was affixed to it some time 1064, or at least 9 months afterwards in. It took some more time to get it endorsed by the Revenue Department. This proves that the machinery of Moghul government at the centre did move but slowly, or as is the case with top-heavy administrations.

17. Daroghah-i-Imarat.

18. II: Jarrett 179.

19. Cf. 'Abdullah Khan Firoz Jang as the Governor of Bihar marches upon the rebel Zamindar of Ratanpur named Babu Lachhmi Ma'asir. II p. 784.

The Fourth Ordinary Member of the Supreme Council. (1834-1853).

[By Mr. Mukut Behari Lal]

Confused legal and judicial systems and incomplete legislative powers were but anachronisms in an era of Benthamite legal reforms. The country required properly codified uniform laws and for the purpose a well constituted legislative authority. This need became pressing when free access of British Immigrants to India was persistently demanded.¹

After some correspondence the members of the Supreme Council and the judges of the Supreme Court prepared and submitted a draft of an Act to the authorities in Great Britain for their consideration. In the Act it was suggested that a legislative council should be constituted for British India and that it should consist of the members of the Supreme Council and the judges of the Supreme Court and such other persons, not exceeding () in number, as might be appointed by the Crown or the East India Company with the approval of the Crown.²

In the beginning the British Government wished to add at least two members to the Supreme Council and contemplated the addition of one or two legal experts, retired judges or barristers of high standing, but ultimately it was proposed to add only one member to the Council who was to be a person not in the service of the Company and to appoint a law commission to assist the Council in the codification of laws. In the House of Lords it was proposed that the fourth member was not to sit or vote in the Council, except when it met for legislative purposes. The amendment was accepted by the Government and passed by Parliament.³

This amendment was obviously meant to restrict the activities of the fourth ordinary member to the legislative business alone, but it raised unexpected controversy in India about the nature of the Council of the Governor-General. Macaulay maintained that India was "under the government of two councils differently composed, the one a legislative, the other an executive body," and that in the absence of a clear definition of the provinces of these two authorities Parliament might be presumed to intend that "the partition of power in the Government of India should be analogous to that which exists in the Government of England."⁴ Lord William Bentinck, how-

1. Lord Bentinck's Minute: 30th May 1829 (Appendix 5. to Commons' Report 1833, p. 280.)

H. T. Prinsep's note: 26th October 1829 (*Ibid.* p. 321).

C. T. Metcalfe's Minute: 17th February 1829 (*Ibid.* p. 274).

W. B. Bayley's Minute: 31st December 1829 (*Ibid.*)

2. Appendix V to Commons, 3rd Report 1831.

3. 3 & 4 Will, IV c. 85, sec. 40.

4. Macaulay's Minute: 27th June 1834 Oot., Pot. Procs. 9 August 1834, No. 7.

ever, maintained that the Supreme Council was one and the same for executive and legislative purposes, and that in its executive capacity it could make peace and war, raise money, and do all that it had so far done, without requiring the interference of the same Council, in its legislative capacity, to give validity to its acts⁵.

Macaulay's theory of two Councils was thus vetoed. But the differentiation in the composition required clear definition of the scope of the activities of the Council in its executive and legislative capacities. It was proposed by Mr. Prinsep that all drafts of laws be considered by the Council in the executive department to which they belonged before they were forwarded for the consideration of the Council in the legislative department.⁶ Mr. Macaulay held that Mr. Prinsep's proposals would legally transfer to the executive department half the business of legislation and empower the executive to perform all acts incident to legislation except the passing of a law. He denied the legal right of the Supreme Council to exclude its fourth member while they were deliberating on a draft of a law in the financial or judicial department and claimed for him "a legal right to record an opinion and to give a vote not merely on the final passing of a law but on every question which may arise respecting a law in any of its stages."⁷ The Government of India recognised the legal right of the fourth member to be present in any department when laws or matters immediately connected with laws might be under discussion,⁸ but unanimously determined that projects of laws, whether proposed by the subordinate government or originating in the Council, would first be considered and prepared by the Supreme Council in the department to which the subject of each draft belonged, whence they would be transmitted to the legislative department in which they would be further considered and, if approved, passed through the forms prescribed in the standing orders of that department.⁹

It was apprehended that a Governor-General could, if he so fancied, make the fourth ordinary member a "mere cypher" by calling him to the Council only when the framing of the law on a question had been determined by the Council in the other departments.¹⁰ But no difficulty arose till the end of the administration of Lord Auckland, as he, like Lord William Bentinck, permitted the fourth ordinary member to see every public document and invited his presence and assistance at every meeting of the Council. Lord Ellenborough, however, wished to restrict the attendance of the fourth ordinary member to meetings of the Council in the Legislative Department and maintained that if he attended any other

5. Lord Bentinck's Minute: July 31, 1834.

6. Prinsep's Minute: 11th June 1835; Leg. Pro. No. 10 of 6th July 1835.

7. Macaulay's Minute: dated June 13, 1835; Leg. Pro. No. 11 of July 6, 1835.

8. Lord Bentinck's Minute. 31st July 1834.

9. Legislative Proceedings No. 13 of July 6, 1835.

10. Lord William Bentinck's Minute: 31st July 1834.

meeting of the Council, he might be required by any other member to withdraw from such a meeting.¹¹ He was prepared to treat as "utterly null" ¹² Directors' instructions in favour of the presence of the fourth member of the Council to meetings of the Council in other departments.¹³ But members of his council were of opinion that the fourth member should be summoned to attend the meetings of the Council in the Home as well as in the Legislative Departments, that all papers in the Home Department should be sent to him, that he should not be required to withdraw from the meetings of the Council in the Home Department except by the vote of the majority in the Council.¹⁴ It was finally decided that consistent with the maintenance of the promptitude of action, the fourth ordinary member should be communicated by the Council such important papers connected with the revenue and judicial administration, as might seem to be calculated to afford him valuable information with respect to the detail, and that he should be requested to attend the Council when important matters connected with revenue and judicial administration might be under consideration.¹⁵

During the above controversy the Directors suggested that "all the functions of the legislation for India may be performed by the Council of India with the assistance of the Chief Justice" who might occupy the seat of the fourth ordinary member in the legislative council.¹⁶ When the question was referred to the Government of India,¹⁷ Lord Ellenborough favoured the abolition of the office of the fourth ordinary member on grounds that the legal member had "hardly anything to do,"¹⁸ that his labours had necessarily "an injurious and dangerous tendency";¹⁹ and that a competent advocate-general could render to the Government of India all the aid it required in legislative matters.²⁰ He strongly held that "it is for statesman to decide upon the objects of the legislation" and that "the proper function of a barrister is to know the law and to explain it."²¹ The members of his council, however, held that the presence of a learned and judicious English lawyer in the legislative council was "indispensible

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11. Lord Ellenborough's Minute: February 28, 1844; Leg. Pro. No. 4 of 16th March 1844.
 12. Lord Ellenborough's Minute: February 18, 1844; Leg. Pro. No. 1 of 16th March 1844.
 13. Directors' Dispatch, 9th December 1843.
 14. M. W. W. Bird's Minute: 24th February 1844; Sir H. Maddock's Minute: 26th February 1844; Leg. Pro. Nos. 2 & 3 of 16th March 1844.
 15. Letter to Cameron: 4th March 1844; Leg. Pro. No. 5, March 16, 1844.
 16. Mr. Tucker to Sir Robert Peel: Key, *Memorials of Indian Government*.
 17. Directors' Leg. Letter No. 3 of 1st March 1843.
 18. Government of India Leg. Letter No. 1 of 22nd April 1843.
 19. *Ibid.*
 20. *Ibid.*
 21. Lord Ellenborough's Minute: 25th November 1843; Leg. Pro. No. 2, of 23rd December 1843.

to a right exercise of the functions of Indian Legislature."²² Impressed by the attitude of the members of the Supreme Council, the authorities in Great Britain ultimately decided that the appointment of the fourth member could not without detriment be dispensed with.²³

In 1849 the question arose whether the fourth ordinary member's minute could be recorded as an "official document" with reference to purely executive matters. While Sir F. Currie maintained that the fourth ordinary member had no right to place his opinion on record in its proceedings in executive cases²⁴, other members maintained that an opinion could be recorded for the information of Directors on a matter on which advice was tendered,²⁵ but that his opinion was not to have the effect of a vote in the Home Department.²⁶ Mr. Littler also maintained that he was to take no part in deliberations of the Council regarding executive affairs except when the Council should expressly desire to avail themselves of his assistance.²⁷ Mr. Bethune, the fourth ordinary member, agreed that his minute in executive matter could not have the effect of a vote but demurred to the suggestion that his opinion was to be given on such subjects only as were referred to him. Mr. Bethune made it clear that he would not attend the meetings of the Home Department unless he was allowed to exercise his own judgment in giving his opinion at meetings at which he was requested to "attend and assist."²⁸ The Court of Directors decided that as the fourth member of the Council had "no voice and no responsibility, except at meetings for making laws and regulations," as a rule for general practice, his sentiments should not be placed on record in other departments, but that the Governor-General might in his "discretion" ask the opinion of the fourth ordinary member "either orally or in writing" on any matter he deemed fit.²⁹

Thus, though the appointment of the fourth ordinary member as the president of the Law Commission removed a serious defect of the Charter Act of 1833 and enabled him to play an important part in the preparation of codes and other activities of the Commission, the amendment introduced by the House of Lords caused many constitutional controversies and administrative difficulties and deprived the Supreme Council of active assistance of the fourth member in all matters. So in 1853 the amendment was repealed and the fourth ordinary member was entitled to attend all meetings of the Supreme Council with full power of its membership.³⁰

22. Sir William Casement's Minute: 9th May, 1843; Bird's Minute: 4th May, 1843; Sir H. Maddock's Minute: May 8, 1843 (Leg. Pro. Nos. 1, 2 & 3 of 10th May, 1843).
23. Directors' Legislative Letter No. 22 of 29th November, 1843.
24. Sir F. Currie's Minute: 29th November, 1849, and, 20th June, 1850; Leg. Pro. Nos. 2, and 8 of 19th July, 1850.
25. Mr. Lewis's Minute of 12th June, 1844; Lord Dalhousie's Minute: 4th June, 1850; J. H. Littler's Minute: June 17, 1850; Leg. Pro. Nos. 3, 6 & 7 of 19th July, 1850.
26. Lord Dalhousie's Minute: June 4, 1850; Leg. Pro. No. 6, July 19, 1850.
27. J. H. Littler's Minute: June 17, 1850; Leg. Pro. No. 7 of July 19, 1850.
28. Bethune's Minute: 29th June 1850; Leg. Pro. No. 9, July 10, 1850.
29. Directors' Legislative Letter No. 1 of January 3, 1851.
30. 16 & 17 Vict. C. 95 sec. 21.

Letters of Mufti Khalil-ud-Din.

[By Mr. K. C. Nigam, M.A.]

Mufti Khalil-ud-din, the ambassador of Ghazi-ud-din Haidar, the First King of Oudh (1814-27), figures prominently in the political transactions of the British and the Oudh Governments from 1826-30. He was born at Kakori (in the District of Lucknow) in 1785 and was the youngest son of 'Qazi-ul-quzat' (chief judge) Najm-ud-din Ali Khan. He was an eminent mathematician and astrologer and contributed several works on the two subjects. In 1826 Ghazi-ud-din Haidar appointed him ambassador at Calcutta. A number of his letters have been recently unearthed from the lower chamber of a house belonging to his descendants. They are copies of his official correspondence and throw light on many important events of the day. They have been written in simple Persian and contain a faithful and frank account of the political transactions. The collection of the letters is rather voluminous but the following excerpts from a few of them will, it is hoped, convey an idea of the nature of their contents.

(1) Excerpt from a letter to Naseer-ud-din Haidar, the Second King of Oudh, dated the 1st December, 1827.

".....Your Majesty proposed to deposit a crore of rupees with the British Government and desired the interest to be distributed as allowance among certain persons. The Resident has been ordered to explain to Your Majesty that the British Government can pay the interest to you or to a person deputed by Your Majesty but they cannot shoulder the responsibility of distributing it among the promisees because the previous undertakings have proved very onerous.

The Governor General has also expressed regret at Your Majesty's refusal to sign a treaty on the occasion of your coronation, he regards such treaties essential in the interest of the two Governments.....The Resident has reported that ten thousand rupees were conferred by Your Majesty on the Company of troops accompanying the funeral procession of His late Majesty (Ghazi-ud-din Haidar).....The Resident has been instructed not to accept any presents in future.....His Lordship has also come to know of Your Excellency's desire to retain Agha Mir (the Prime Minister of late reign) in office. He tells me the British Government cannot legally interfere in such matters but he thinks that administration of Agha Mir has been beneficial neither to the Government of Oudh nor to its people.....Since the practice of bestowing presents has been abolished, no dress of honour will be conferred on the Prime Minister on behalf of the British Government....."

(2) Excerpt from a letter to the Second King of Oudh dated the 17th December 1827.

".....Orders on the Resident's dispatches of the 7th, 9th, 14th and 17th November have been issued. The Council has raised serious objections to the titles Your Majesty has conferred on the Begams. They point out that such titles were held by the Queens of the Mughal Emperor of Delhi.....nor can your titles be recognised.....The Governor General has told me that in 1820 there had been a protracted correspondence on this subject and Your Majesty should go through those papers. On being informed that Your Majesty has already assumed the title of 'Shah Jahan', the Governor General has remarked that within Oudh Your Majesty may use any titles but they cannot be allowed in external correspondence."

(3) Excerpt from a letter to Agha Mir dated the 19th March, 1828. Khalil-ud-din was a member of the Prime Minister's party; in this letter he wrote about the machinations of two rival candidates, Hakim Mahdi Ali Khan and Mir Fazl Ali, to secure the office for themselves after the overthrow of Agha Mir.

".....I am now better but my physical ailments are coupled with mental tortures.....I am not at peace.....read the progress of events in this letter and burn it.....you must assume a bold face.....appeals to every Tom will do you no good.....I too feel insecure and successive news from Lucknow add to my apprehensions. His Majesty is not pleased with me and wants to appoint somebody else.....Hakim Mahdi Ali Khan has addressed a letter to the Persian Secretary of the Governor General.....He has committed a blunder.....The officials here know him and hold a high opinion of his capabilities.....they are now dissatisfied.....The Resident at Lucknow has reported that Hakim Mahdi is a mischiefmonger and harbours anti-British ideas, he should not be allowed to stay at the Capital.....Mir Fazl Ali, the *charge d'affaires*.....is unfit for the office and plays a double game.....As for myself I am confident that the English gentlemen here would extend to me every help they can....."

(4) Excerpt from a letter to the Second King of Oudh dated the 25th March 1828.

".....I am informed that the letter, Your Majesty wrote in connection with your titles, has been returned. When I had talk with the Secretary and asked him the reason of the disapproval of the title 'Shah Jahan' by the Council and pointed out that people sometimes named their horses 'Shah Jahan' and no one could stop them, he smiled and observed that these arguments did not apply for the particular case....."

"The newspapers from Lucknow are full of rumours and alarms. Recently it has been given out that Your Majesty being short of money has made withdrawals from the Reserve Treasury. The Badshah Begam has also complained of the non-payment of her allowance.....They have also reported that Your Majesty's peons plundered grain carts because their salaries were in arrear and they had no money

to purchase the corn with.....I tried to explain that the rumours had been fomented by the hostile parties but I could see that the explanations bore little effect.....”

(5) Excerpt from a letter to the Second King of Oudh dated the 3rd January 1828. About this time the Oudh Treasury was facing an economic crisis on account of Naseer-ud-din's extravagance.

“.....K* (J) came to me the other day and demanded payment of his bills.....Your Majesty may order an immediate transfer of as much money as can be spared. Your credit and good-will will be compromised in case of delay”.

(6) Excerpt from a torn letter to the Second King of Oudh in which reference has been made about the overthrow of the Prime Minister Agha Mir,

“.....The alarming news from Lucknow throw me into wild confusion. It is reported that large sums have been misappropriated by Agha Mir and Your Majesty has dismissed him.....and that there have been riots on the public roads and people have been murdered in cold blood. How did all this come about?.....Why has Fazl Ali (who succeeds Agha Mir as Prime Minister) returned?.....”

(7) Excerpt from another incomplete letter which contains information about rounding up of Agha Mir's supporters and the tortures they had to suffer at rival hands.

“.....I am informed that Rai Amrit Lal, unable to bear the bodily tortures, cut his throat with a knife and brother and son of Subhan Ali Khan have been brought in chains from their estate.....”

The family records have got an importance of their own. There are, I am aware, dozens of descendants of Oudh noblemen residing in Lucknow, Fyzabad and out-of-the-way places like Bahraich, Salon, Kakori, Sandila and Jais etc., in whose possession lies rich raw material for history, but at present, rotting and uncared for.

Rebellion in Kolapore and Sawunt Wadi (1844 -45) and its Significance.

[By Mr. Virendra Kumar, M. A.]

As a result of the shaking of the Indian faith in the power and invincibility of British arms because of events during the first Afgan war, the natural desire of the people to be free from foreign yoke, whetted, as it was by oppressions of the Indian nobles and rulers under the protection of the sovereign power, found its expression (through a growing discontent in various parts of India, which culminated) in the mutiny of 1857. The causes of this discontent were manifold; the grinding poverty of the people who wanted a change in their

* At places Khalil-ud-din has used signs instead of proper names.

position at any cost, the apprehension of the Indian nobility that the British, on appreciating the situation, were putting a check on their extortions and oppressions, and the fear of the princes for their existence aroused by the aggressive policy of conquests and absorptions followed by the rulers of the time. The existence of these feelings is clearly exemplified by the rebellion in Kolapore and Sawunt Wadi (1844-45). Exhaustive information about this rebellion is available from the records kept in the custody of the Imperial Record Department.

The British relations with these two states of the South had for a long time been greatly strained. Plunder of British trade by land and sea and intense internal confusion provoked repeated conflicts with the British. The latter in their different agreements with these states demanded compensation for injuries, surrender of one or other port and territory, reduction of arms, non-molestation of guaranteed Jagirdars, and various commercial privileges for themselves. Repeated armed interference having proved of little avail, the British decided to take up the direct administration of these states for some time maintaining, however, the nominal rulers on their Gaddi. Early in 1844, Dajee Krishna Pandit, one of the ablest members of the Bombay Civil Service, was appointed minister of Kolapore. He was made accountable to the British political agent alone. Failing to make the Sardesai of Sawunt Wadi respect the treaties and being tired of internal confusion, the British appointed an European Political Superintendent in 1838 to administer the state. The British functionaries tried to introduce reforms in the Revenue, Police, Military and Judicial systems of these states. But these attempts at reform were much resented by the privileged classes—nobles and soldiers—of the old regime. The nobles apprehending loss of their former privileges worked upon the sentiments of the soldiery and the people to make them oppose with arms British interference in these states. The commercial privileges gradually acquired by the British in their treaties aroused the hostility of the trading people and keenness shown by British officers to reform the administrative machinery united the grasping and oppressive nobles in a secret bond of unity to excite and support discontent against the British, and if a favourable opportunity offered, to resort to armed rebellion. D. K. Pandit's administrative measures to take away such privileges of Kolapore Ghudkurries — as allowances for goats and Daschra, money presents at Devali, and the counting of jack-fruit trees and houses for taxation — spread wide discontent among them and created an apprehension that a new order of things was going to be created under the aegis of the British in which they would lose their privileged position. The Sowcars and the Brahmmins went about among the people preaching against the British, and hence we find that there was a general discontent in the southern Maratha country. The British Minister in Kolapore and the Political Superintendent in Sawunt Wadi forgot that they were agents of a foreign power, whose intentions, however benevolent and beneficent, excited suspicion and hatred.

These smouldering embers of discontent among the people suddenly burst into a flame when D. K. Pandit reduced the number of Mamlutdars in the state from 23 to 6. They were a source of

great corruption and oppression of the people and a drain on the resources of the state as their number was much in excess of that required for the purposes of administration. This reform was disliked by the Ghudkurries who were attached to their own hereditary Mamlutdars and this privileged soldiery saw in it the inauguration of an era of change which might gradually take away all their cherished privileges and rights. Encouraged by the sympathy of the people and the secret help of influential nobles at the court, the Ghudkurries of the forts of Boodurgurh and Samundgurh refused, in Sept., 1844, to admit the new Mamlutdars appointed to take their charge. Delay in the reduction of these forts because of the want of knowledge of the place, mismanagement by certain army officers and lukewarm co-operation of the Sardars, encouraged greatly the discontented men in all the parts of the country. On 4th Oct., 1844, Patucks and Seebundies in Kolapore city supported by the men belonging to the palace started disturbances which culminated in the seizure and imprisonment of D. K. Pandit and other officers who were favourable to British interests. This rising was supported by the Dewan Sahib and his party and other nobles who wanted to exercise once more unbridled authority in the affairs of the state. Former ministers, D. R. Guickwar and Rowjee Wanknees, who had been turned out by the British were called on to assume the charge of affairs. The troops were called to colours, forts in the state were put into a state of defence, but the Sardars, who were the secret abettors of the rising kept aloof to see which way the wind blew so that they might be able to join the winning party. These events in Kolapore soon changed the rising of the discontented Ghudkurries of the two forts against their own state into a popular revolt against British interference. All the forts in the Kolapore state were in a state of revolt and insurgents began to raid adjoining British districts and territory of the Sawunt Wadi state. The British decided to take extensive measures to suppress the revolt. The forts of Samundgurh was captured by the British on 13th Oct., 1844. Colonel Outram offered an amnesty to nobles and the Raja if they immediately repaired to his camp. The nobles gladly availed themselves of this opportunity to escape from the consequences of their own proceedings against the British. This step of Outram was severely censured by the Government of Bombay and the Government of India, as it enabled the principal offenders to escape unpunished. Lt. Ovens was appointed to succeed Outram, but he was imprisoned by the Ghudkurries of Punnalla who, by this means, tried to obtain easier terms from the British. It was only when the British threatened the nobles and the Ghudkurries with dire consequences that Ovens was released unconditionally. During November and December the principal forts of the Ghudkurries like Punnalla, Powungurh and Vishalgurh were reduced but the depredations of the rebels in Kolapore and in adjoining British districts remained unchecked. It was only by the middle of February, 1845, that complete tranquillity was restored in the Kolapore state.

The infection of this insurrection spread to the neighbouring state of Wadi, whose people had intimate connections with the Ghudkurries of Kolapore and were themselves used to frequent

rebellions. By the middle of December, 1844, the whole state of Wadi was in full revolt and the British authority was confined merely to the town and to the few military posts in that state. The rebels freely collected revenue and were helped in every way by the people. The difficult nature of the country which abounded in jungles made the task of suppression of the rebellion difficult. The support which the rebels got from Goa strengthened their resources. Martial Law was declared in Wadi on 14th January, 1845, and pardon was offered to all those who returned to normal life except the leaders of the Bund and those who were implicated in murders or other atrocious crimes. The forts of Munohur and Mimtoshghur were reduced by the end of January, 1845. Gradually the villagers returned to their homes to resume their former occupations and the Government was able to restore the normal administration of the country. But while the rest of the country was restored to normal life, disturbances, plunder and murders on Goa frontier continued even up to the middle of the year 1845. The insurgents not only made Goa a base for their operations, but they also procured support in men, money and munitions from there. It was only after prolonged negotiations with the Goa authorities in course of which the British had to use threats that the former eventually agreed to take active measures against the rebels and peace was restored on the Goa frontier as well.

The rebellion coming, as it did, some years before the mutiny clearly shows that the British power was not regarded as invincible at that time. The British could not realize the needs and aspirations of the people. They tried to establish peace but the people put national honour above everything else. Their ignorance of local customs, prejudices and aspirations led them to take certain measures which provoked strong and bitter opposition from the people. This revolt is also indicative of the feelings of hatred with which British interference was regarded in the Indian states. The people in a state, however much misgoverned and oppressed they might be, were deeply attached to their royal houses and regarded with great abhorrence any direct interference by the British in the affairs of the state, even when such a course was directed to improve their condition. This attitude of the common people was quite natural. The interference of the British had not always been an unmixed blessing or wholly disinterested. The history of British relations with these states shows that whenever the British interfered in their affairs, they secured for themselves the key positions of trade and commerce and greater hold on the affairs of the state without ameliorating the condition of the people. The rotten internal condition of most of the states of this time is also exemplified by these incidents. Weak, vacillating rulers, a corrupt, intriguing, powerful and oppressive nobility, and ignorant masses of thoroughly oppressed subjects, such was the rule in Indian states. Such a state of affairs always made the people only too willing to rise against the Government at the slightest pretext. The disturbed condition of these states gave ample and justifiable cause to the British to interfere in their affairs. It clearly shows the manner in which the British political power was extended to Indian States.

Farhang-i-Kardani of Jagat Rai Shuja'i Kayasth Saksena.

[By Sh. Abdur Rashid, M. A., LL. B.]

In the Abdus Salam collection of the Muslim University Library there is a small volume entitled *Farhang-i-Kardani* written by one Jagat Rai Shuja'i of Jahangirnagar. This is a handbook of information relating to the various duties of officers of the Mughal State, as well as a guide for the new entrants. (It is as a matter of fact a compendium of such information as is necessary for administrative efficiency. It consists of one hundred and one pages measuring 7" by 4", each page containing from 15 to 16 lines. I have come across only one copy of this work in the catalogues of Persian manuscripts in the various libraries in India and abroad. The British Museum Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts mentions of another such book the contents of which are more or less the same as of the *Farhang*; but neither the title nor the name of the author is given so that it is difficult to say whether the two are different copies of the same book. This is described as a *Dustur-ul-Amal* divided into 19 sections beginning with **العجل علم توليدگی معاملات و مقدمات مہالک ہند**. It contains directions "relating to the official notation of numbers, weights, currency, measurements, divisions of time, the subahs of India, official salaries and state departments with forms of public accounts and returns." The *Farhang* contains very useful information which can be of use in checking up the data so far available about the revenue system of the Mughals.

The following is a list of contents :—

1. Chap.	1. On the method of counting.
2. "	2. " " numerical figures.
3. "	3. " " of multiplication tables.
4. "	4. " " of measurement.
5. "	5. " " coins.
6. "	6. " " weights.
7. "	7. " " counting the men and the animals.
8. "	8. " " measurement of areas.
9. "	9. About the yard used for measurement of building.
10. "	10. On <i>kanabar</i> (a Hindi word) which I have not been able to translate.
11. "	11. " calendar.
12. "	12. " provinces.
13. "	13. " the salary of mansabdars.
14. "	14. " cash salary in lieu of jagirs.
15. "	15. " workshops.
16. "	16. " counting by the letters as numerical signs (?).

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|-----------|-------------------------------------|
| 17. Chap. | 17. On writings of sheets of paper: |
| 18. " | 18. " office-procedure. |
| 19. " | 19. " mode of writing letters. |

The list of contents as given by Prof. Sharma in his Bibliography of Mughal India is not correct. He has not properly deciphered or translated the original.

Out of this list I have for the present selected the portion relating to the duties of an *amin* under the Mughals for translation and criticism and at a future date propose to publish a complete translation of this volume.

The term *amin* has been applied to denote different officers of varying importance and widely differing functions. Dr. Saran has objected to Sir Jadunath Sarkar's definition of this office with considerable force. Sir Jadunath is however, on the whole, correct in his enumeration of the duties of the *amin*. We hear of *amins*, whose duties were purely administrative and who were called upon to perform specific duties under a particular contingency. An officer of this category was the famous Qazi Fazilat whom Sher Shah appointed to succeed Khizr Khan as the head of the administration of Bengal. The province of Bengal was split up into minor administrative units and the Qazi was placed there as the agent of the central government to supervise the working of government under the title of *Amini-i-Bangala*. Obviously his official duties were different from those of an *amin* attached to the Revenue Department. It is interesting to observe that the latter were on occasions called upon to perform the duties of the *Faujdar* of a *parganah* in addition to their normal duties.

We also hear of *amins* attached to the Department of Justice who had strictly judicial duties. This is also borne out by an order of Aurangzeb who in the course of his observations on a case observed, "The *Qazi* and the *Amin* should make thorough enquiries and should not decide a case merely on the strength of an admission or denials (by the parties concerned)".

We have it on the authority of *Mirat-i-Ahmedi*, that the *amin* attached to the Branding Department was besides having a personal *mansab*, entitled to keep 10 horsemen. The officer along with the *darogha* used to sit with their staff in the four-vaulted building in the market, and to hold the muster of the horses. Their duties also included the inspection of trappings of the horses as well as the equipage of the *mansabdars*. We are also told of *amins* attached to the Department of cloth-market, who was entitled to keep 10 horsemen besides his personal *mansab* and had to inspect merchandise. An *amin* was also attached to the jewel-market and to the mint but none of these officers had any fixed *mansab*. Similar officers were to be found in the *pan* (betel leaf) market, Department for the purchase of horses, and the Wardrobe Department.

The above account will clearly show that the term *amin* was used for various offices with different functions.

The author of the Mss. reproduces an order bearing the signature of *Madarul Muham* which throws important light on the various duties of the *amins* in the Revenue Department.

"The *Chaudhris*, the *Qanungoes*, the *ryots* and the rest of the inhabitants of Pargana such and such, situated in the territory of the Province such and such should know that by order of the Emperor whose command is obeyed by the whole world, and who is as lustrous as the Sun, the duties of the *Amin* of the aforesaid Pargana are with the commencement of such and such a season entrusted to the honesty, thrift and wisdom of such and such according to details attached. He should with utmost diligence prepare the comparative account of the last 10 years and the average (of rent) of the last year, and the year before last, with all honesty and uprightness visiting personally each and every plot of the cultivated area; (he) should prepare a statement of assessment and explain it to the *ryots*. He should send day by day the account book of *Dol Jama Bandi*, till the *Jamabandi* of the Pargana be completed. Thereafter, he should send the *Jamabandi* scrolls with the signatures of the *Chaudhris* and *Qanungoes* and the seal of the Protector of the Canon-Law, and the agreement of final receipt of the *Karori* to His Majesty. By his tact and kindness he should keep the subjects and all the residents and the populace of his division happy and contented. He should enhance its cultivation and population and its buildings. In all these works he should recognise his duties and functions."

The author also mentions the duties of an *amin* in the matter of assessments, which were of six kinds:—

"Firstly, there is *Naskh*, that is the *Amin*, after making a comparative study of the last 10 years and of the last year or calculating the average for the last twelve years prepares a Statement of assessment.

Secondly the *Zabti*, that is the *Amin* after measuring the cultivated areas enters the measurements in the *Khasra*. The total of cultivation as obtained in the *Khasra* should in accordance with the rules be shown at the time of assessment.

Thirdly, *danabandi* or *Kankoot*, that is, the *Amin* after visiting every cultivated plot, makes the estimate of the crop, and on its basis determines the assessment.

Fourthly, the *Ghalla bakhshi*, that is the *Amin* after visiting all the cultivated plots gathers the corn together and puts a thorny hedge round it. Thereafter he keeps a watch on the *ryot's* share. He gives them a receipt for their share.

Fifthly, the *lulabandi*, that is the *Amin* visits the plots of cultivated land, gathers the (produce of) cultivation and effects *lulabandi*. Thereafter, he keeps a watch over (the share) of the *ryot*, gets the corn winnowed and regulates assessments according to that (produce). He takes (from the produce) the full share of the state and hands over the rest to the *ryot*. The duties of the *Amin* are exceedingly difficult.

If he takes more (than the share of the state), no harm; if he takes equal (to the share of the state), yet no harm; but if he obtains less than the state's share, he is called to account for that and much hardship is inflicted on him so that he cannot even drink of the water of his pargana.

The longer an old *Amin* is in a pargana, the better versed he will become in its affairs; and as such the condition of the *ryots* would be fully known to him.

Sixthly, Village assessment, that is the *Amin* visits the villages and examines the cultivated land, strikes an average of the good and bad land, and lay down the extent of the area that is to be cultivated. In this case he leaves his share to the *ryot* and with the advice of the *Qamungoes* of the division determines the assessment."

A Farman of Farrukhsiyar.

[By Dr. Paramatma Saran, M.A., Ph. D.]

The following notice pertains to one of the two Farmans of the Mughal Emperor Farrukhsiyar, which I came across last year in the course of my search for antiquities. Both the Farmans were in a very damaged condition, having been folded and kept so carelessly that the paper, being rather brittle, had many deep creases and had cracked in several places. Luckily however, almost the entire text remained secure so as to present no great difficulty in reading it. The Farmans were carefully repaired under my direct supervision and are now in quite good condition.

Both the Farmans are of the same size, each measuring 3'4" x 1' 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ". Both begin with the sacred name of Allah in vermilion at the top. Below the latter there are the Royal Seal on the right and the name of the Sovereign on the left in the Naskh style of writing. The seal represents two concentric circles surmounted by a core. The name of the reigning Emperor Farrukhsiyar is written in the centre and those of his predecessors occupy the space in between the two circles, each name being also circumscribed by a small circle. Below the seal and the Naskh impression follows the text of the Farman which consists of seven lines in each case. The subject of the Farmans is an assignment of some land by way of maintenance (*madad-i-maash*) to the assignees named in the Farmans. The Farman under notice was granted on 27th of Shaban, in the sixth year of accession. On the reverse there are four seals of the royal officers as detailed in the following translation, besides several endorsements of later dates.

With the Name of the Holy and High and Glorious.

Farman of Badshah Ghazi Muhammad Farrukhsiyar, son of Azimush Shan.

The glorious Farman, which ought to be obeyed, is being issued at this auspicious moment — that two hundred and thirty five bighas of barren land which is lying fallow and uncultivated, though it is fit for cultivation, in the parganah of Sandi, Sarkar Khairabad of Subah Awadh, and is free from revenue-payment (freehold land), is by this command granted to Saiyed Karam Ullah, who shelters a large number of pupils and mendicants and has no source of maintenance, so that he (the said Saiyed Karam-Ullah) may spend it on his requirements and pray for the ever-lasting life and prosperity of the sovereign. The present and future officers, and amils, jagirdars and karoris ought to measure the aforesaid land and after drawing its boundary they should hand it over to him (*i.e.*, to Saiyed Karam Ullah); and they should not make in it any alterations at all. Further they should not give him any trouble on the score of such taxes as qanlagha, (قنلغه), peshkash (پیشکش), jaribana, zabitana, (*i.e.*, allowances paid to the measurer and assessors), muhassilana (paid to the collectors), mehrrana (wedding tax paid to quazis), daroghghana, paikar and shikar muqaddami and qanungoi, and the annual zabt or assessment. Nor should they, after ascertaining the boundaries of the land, the increment of cultivation, and the total revenue demand of the State, realise anything (from the said donee). They should also not demand from him this sanad (certificate) every year, nor rely on any document given on any other occasion than this (*i.e.*, on any other document in preference to this).

Written on the 27th of Shaban, in the 6th year of accession.
Endorsements on the back.

(a)

This is the memorandum (شرح) of that endorsement which was made on the sacred Saturday, in the 6th year of the glorious reign, which corresponds to 27th Rabi-us-Sani, 1119 A.H.,* or 24. Ardibihisht of the Fasli year and is recorded by Hulas Ram, the humble clerk or writer (واقعہ نگار) of the great and glorious Royal house, under the instructions (برسالة) of Muhammad Afzal Khan Bahadur, who is the shelter of greatness and nobleness, possessor of bravery and valour, worthy of royal favour, and of the protection of the divine grace, Sadr of high rank, Sadr of Sadrs, Sadr of the world as follows:—

*27 Rabi-us-Sani, 1119 A.H. July 28, 1707 A.D.

This is obviously a mistake of the scribe, the correct date being 1129 A.H. corresponding to April 10, 1717 A.D. This date falls in the 6th year of the rule of Farrukhsiyar and not in 1707 A.D. In the other Farman the correct year 1120 A.H. is given.

The Royal (برتر) order is issued, that 235 *Bighas* of land which is lying barren and uncultivated, but is fit for cultivation, in the parganah of Sandi, Sarkar Khairabad, Subah Oudh and is free from revenue, is hereby conferred by way of maintenance by me on Saiyed Karmullah, who keeps a good number of students and mendicants and has no means of support.

Should there be any other Sanad concerning this (land) it should not be regarded as authentic and the revenue and taxes of all kinds on this land should be considered as remitted. The memorandum of this incident was endorsed on the 4th of *Rabi-us-sani*, of 6th year of Accession.

Explanation of Signatures :—

(Sd.) Saiyed Abdulla Khan Bahadur, Zafar Jang (Victorious in battle) Sipahsalar, the faithful friend, the leader of the ministers, trustee of the great kingdom, worthy of respect by the glorious Sultanate, best among the glorious nobles of the State, chief among the khans of high rank, administrator of the Kingdom and its wealth, walker on the path of Kingdom and fortune, commander of the pen and sword, keeper of the flag and insignia of State, High-minister who acts or plans uprightly and who is uni-coloured, i.e. who is the same in and out, trustworthy for the Kingdom, the support of the management of state, the pole-star of the country, trustee of the kingdom, the Prime Minister, at this hour issues this *Farman*.

(Sd.) Saiyed Afzal Khan Bahadur, shelter of greatness and nobleness (the same titles as above are repeated) gives (confirms) the *farman* at this hour.

(Sd.) Hulas Ram Waqia Nigar (Recorder), certifies the authenticity of all this.

(Sd.) Saiyed Abdulla Khan Bahadur, testifies again.

(Sd.) Hamid Uddin Khan, who is shelter of loftiness, and nobleness and is worthy of all kindnesses and obligations after this, 29 *Jamadi-us-Sani* 6th year of accession, to His Majesty, the Emperor.

(Sd.) Saiyed Abdulla Khan Bahadur, who thereafter had the glorious *Farman* written out.

(b)

The petition made in accordance with the practice of the Royal Court, by Saiyed Karmullah, with his own signatures and the seal of Ikhlās Khan, reached the court that the above-mentioned (Saiyed Karmullah) who is associated with a good number of students and mendicants, and has no means of support, and remains day and night occupied in acquiring religious knowledge, and in praying to God prayeth to the grand and merciful (Sovereign) that *three hundred bighas of land* in the aforesaid parganah be kindly granted to him by way of *imadad-i-maash*. "Sharah-i-Sadr-Hukm." (شور صدق حکم)

(c)

In the meantime, from the office of petitions, the prayer (recommendation) reached the sacred Threshold, that 300 bighas of barren but cultivable land which is in the parganah of Sandi, Sarkar-Khairabad, Subah Oudh, and is revenue-free may be graciously granted by way of madad-i-maash to *Saiyed Karm-Ullah, who maintains a large number of students and mendicants*. This *farman* was then handed over to the Keeper of the Seal for sealing it.

The sun of piety became illuminated that I, with great magnanimity and perfect kindness, passed the gracious order that the land (in question) be granted under the virtuous Seal, to the Petitioner.

Under the instructions of the shelter of goodness and greatness, possessor of bravery and valour, worthy of royal favour and divine grace, *Sadr* of high rank, *Sadr* of *Sadrs* and *Sadr* of the world, Saiyed Muhammad Afzal Khan Bahadur, written by Hulas Ram Waqia Nawis.

Seals on the back:—

(1) Seal of the Prime Minister, Saiyed Abdullah Khan Bahadur (in the left hand top corner) dated 29th *Shawwal* of the 6th year of accession.

(2) Seal of Afzal Khan client *Sadr*, (next to the above) dated 12th *Ramazan* of the 6th year of accession.

(3) Muhammad Arshad Khan (about eight inches below the above seals, in the middle) dated 26th *Shawwal* of 6th year of accession.

(4) (3 inches to the right of the above) Santul Ram, dated 19th *Shawwal*, 6th year of accession.

Several other signatures which are illegible, but of later dates.

باسم سبھانہ و تعالیٰ شانہ

فرمان ابوالظفر بادشاہ غازی محمد

فرخ سیر

درین وقت میمنت اقران فرمان والاشان واجب الانعان صادر شد کہ دو صد و سی و پنج بیگہ زمین بنجر افتادہ لائق زراعت خارج جہج از پرگنہ سافنی سرکار خیر آباد مضات صوبہ اودھ دروجہ مدد معاش سید کرم اللہ کہ جماعت کثیر از طلبا و فقرا وابستہ دارد و معاش آنها بہ هیچ وجہ مقرر نیست حسب الضمن مقرر باشد کہ حاصل آنرا صرف مایحتاج نمودہ بدعائے دولت روز افزون مواظبت نہاید - باید کہ حکام و عمال و جاگیرداران و کروریان حال و استقبال زمین مزبور را

یهوده و چک بسته تصرف او باز گزارند - و اصلاً و مطلقاً تغییر و تبدل ندانند - و بعلت مال و جهات مثل قتلخه و پیشکش و جریبانه و ضابطانه و محضانه و مهرانه و دروغخانه و پیکار شکار و مقدسی و تافون گوئی و ضبط هر ساله بعد تشخیص چک و تکرار زراعت و کل مطالبات سلطانی و تکالیف دیوانی مزاحم نشوند - و اندرین باب هر سال سند مجدد فطلبند - و اگر در محل دیگر چیزی داشته باشد آنرا اعتبار نکنند -

بیست و هفتم شعبان سال ششم از جلوس والا نوشته شده -

شرح مهر بادشاه غازی

محمد فرخ سیر ابن عظیم الشان ابن شاه عالم بادشاه ابن عالمگیر بادشاه ابن شاه جهان بادشاه ابن جهانگیر بادشاه ابن اکبر بادشاه ابن همایون بادشاه ابن بابر بادشاه ابن عمر شیخ شاه ابن سلطان ابوسعید شاه ابن سلطان محمد شاه ابن میزان شاه ابن امیر تیمور صاحبقران سنه ۱۱۲۵

اله

شرح یاد داشت واقعه بتاریخ روز مبارک شنبه بیست و هفتم شهر ربیع الثانی سنه ۶ جلوس والا موافق سنه ۱۱۲۹ هجری مطابق ۲۴ اردی بهشتماه برساله سیادت و نجابت پناه شجاعت و شہامت و دستکاه سزاوار عنایت بادشاه قابل مرحمت صدر رفیع القدر صدر الصدور صدر جهان سید محمد افضل خان بهادر واقعه نگارے کمترین خاندان سلطان دستکاه سریر و احتشام -

صوبه اوده در وجه مدد معاش سید کرم الله که جناعت کثیر از طلبا و فقرا وابسته دارد معاش آنها بهیچ وجه مقرر نیست مرحمت فرمودم و گردر محل دیگر چیزی داشته باشد آنرا اعتبار نکنند و دیده و دانسته چیت معاف شناسند - واقعه چهارم شهر ربیع الثانی جلوس والا سنه ۶ موجب تصدیق یادداشت شد - شرح دستخط موتهن الدلتہ العلیه معتمد السلطنه البیہد عبد افزائے رفیع الشان زبد خوانین بلند مکان فاضل منازم ملک و مال ناهج متاهج دولت و اقبال صاحب السیف و القلم رافع اللواء و العلم وزیر صائب تدبیر پکورنگ عباد الملک مدار الہام قطب الملک یهین الدولہ سید عبداللہ خان بہادر ظفر جنگ سپہ سالار یار باوقا دستور الوزرا آنکہ داخل واقعه نماید - شرح دستخط سیادت و نجابت پناه شجاعت و شہامت دستکاه سزاوار عنایت بادشاه قابل مرحمت ظل صدر رفیع القدر صدر الصدور و صدر جهان سید افضل خان

بهادر آنکه داخل واقعه نماید - شرح واقعه نگار کل آنکه مطابق واقعه کل است - شرح دستخط عباد الهلک مدارالهمام قطب الهلک یهین الدوله سید عبدالله خان بهادر ظفر جنگ سپه سالار یار باوفا دستور الوزرا آنکه بعرض مکرر رساند - شرح دستخط رفعت و معالی پناه لائق العنايت والاحسان حمید الدین خان آنکه بست و نهم جهادی الثانی سنه ۹ جلوس والا مکرر بعرض مقدس معالی رسید - شرح دستخط عباد الهلک مدارالهمام قطب الهلک یهین الدوله سید عبدالله خان بهادر ظفر جنگ سپه سالار یار باوفا دستور الوزرا آنکه فرمان عالی شان قلہی نماید -

(۲)

دریم ولا از دفتر عرائض بعرض مقدس رسید که دو صدوسی و پنچ بیگه زمین بنجر اقتاده لائق زراعت خارج جمع از پرگنه ساندی سرکار خیر آباد صوبه اوده دروجه مدد معاش سید کرم الله که جماعت کثیر از طلبا و فقرا وابسته دارد مرحمت شد - فرمان آن مہر مالک اذک رجوع است - آفتاب شعاع شرف سعادت یافت که از راه نوازش تمام و کمال مرحمت فرمودم مہر مالک اذک مزین کرده بدهند -

(۳)

از روے فرد حکم والا مزین بدستخط خاص بہر اخلاص خان بدقتر رسید کہ مشارالہ جماعت کثیر از طلبا و فقرا وابسته دارد - وجہ معاش آنها بہیچ وجہ مقرر نیست و شب و روز در تحصیل علوم دینیہ و عبادات الہی مشغول اند از فضل و کرم امید واراند کہ سہ صد بیگہ زمین عہلہ پرگنہ مذکور در وجہ مدد معاش او مرحمت شود - شرح صدر حکم -

(۴)

برسالہ سیادت و نجابت پناه شجاعت و شہادت دستگاہ سزاوار عنایت بادشاہی قابل مہمت الہی صدر رفیع القدر صدر الصدور صدر جهان سید محمد افضل خان بہادر و نویت واقعه نویسی ہولاس رام -

The Beginning of Diplomatic Relations between the Sikhs and the British Government in India, 1783.

[By Dr. Hari Ram Gupta, M.A., Ph.D.,]

On the death of Mirza Najaf Khan, the last of the notable chief ministers of Delhi, in April 1782, the Imperial Government of the Mughals was thrown into chaos and confusion. Shah Alam II therefore appealed to Warren Hastings for assistance. The Governor-General welcomed this opportunity with a view to establish a British protectorate at Delhi, and on the 20th August, 1782, "appointed Major James Browne as his Agent and the minister of his Government at the Court of Delhi". His instructions included a clause in the fulfilment of which Browne established and maintained diplomatic relations with the Sikh chiefs. Browne left Calcutta at the end of August, 1782. He met Mirza Shafi, the Regent of the Empire, at Agra on the 26th February, 1783, and stayed there with him till the following November. The Sikhs who had their dominions in the neighbourhood of Delhi, and were frequently raiding the Gangetic Doab, seized this opportunity of establishing friendly relations with the British Government. Their object was to allay the apprehensions of the British regarding their incursions and to secure their neutrality¹.

James Browne² not only maintained diplomatic relations with the Sikhs, but also collected information about their rise to power, and worked it up in his India Tracts which contains a "History of the origin and progress of the Sicks"³.

Amidst friendly professions Browne administered gentle rebukes to the Sikhs for being in the habit of invading the Gangetic Doab, the country in the neighbourhood of Delhi and the territory of the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, an ally of the British Government.

Lakhpat Rai, the wakil of the Sikhs, who was stationed at Delhi to negotiate with the Emperor and the nobles, addressed a letter to James Browne on the subject of mutual friendship. He stated that notable Sikh chiefs such as Jassa Singh, "who is the highest and greatest and in that country called Badshah Singh", and Baghel Singh including many others were willing to establish friendly relations with the British Government.

Browne's reply dated the 27th April, 1783, held out prospect of "sincere friendship", on the condition of obedience to Shah Alam II

1. On the murder of Mirza Shafi, Browne left Agra and came to Delhi on the 11th December, 1783.
2. Browne is addressed by the Sikhs as "Muin - ud - Daulah Major James Browne Bahadur".
3. Browne finished his Manuscript for the Press at Harley Street on September 17, 1787. It was printed "by Order of the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company" at the Logographic Press, Printing House, Square, Black Friars, in 1788.

and laying aside the practice of plundering the Gangetic Doab and the Crown lands.

Lakhpat Rai expressed his surprise at this criticism. He asserted that "the population and tranquillity of the people and arrangement of the affairs of the Empire" were the chief desires of the Sikhs. He declared that their presence in the Gangetic Doab was due to the fact "that the Sardars of Hindusthan do not abide by their engagements".

Lakhpat Rai later on sent another letter accompanied by letters from Jassa Singh Ahluwalia of Kapurthala, Lahna Singh, Baghel Singh and Maharaja Sahib Singh of Patiala. All these letters contained declarations of mutual friendship.

Browne's reply to Lakhpat Rai dated the 5th August, 1783, again recorded a protest against the unlawful activities of the Sikhs.

In his reply to Jassa Singh of the same date, while hinting upon the plundering activities of the Sikhs, he acknowledged his letter thus:— "I am grateful for the favour, and—on understanding the good qualities and excellent disposition and surpassing kindness of one unequalled in the whole world which were understood in detail from the writings of Lala Lakhpat Rai, joy was occasioned to my affectionate heart".

Lahna Singh, one of the Lahore chiefs, in his letter stated:— "The whole empire is God Almighty's, to every one he wishes he gives, or it depends on the sword."

Browne's reply contained flattery as well as reproof:— "On the receipt of your glorious epistle, which was replete with friendship, increase of joy and cheerfulness was summoned." He continued:— "Several of your sardars have contracted the bad habit of plunder and devastation, and boasted of their opposition and rebellion to his majesty and the nobles of the Presence."

In reply to Meharban (Baghel?) Singh's letter sent through Mangal Sain, Browne expressed his delight on the receipt of the letter and displeasure at the behaviour of the Sikhs:— "Your epistle of friendship which was full of the jewels and the ornaments of friendship arrived in a happy season and created pleasure." He then criticized:— "Many chiefs of that place had adopted intentions of war and plunder and violence and oppression to the people and besides had opposition and enmity to his Majesty and noble omrahs."

Maharaja Sahib Singh's letter was delivered by Missar Shitab Chand. Browne in acknowledgment reiterate the same criticism:— "These Chiefs have made the system and custom of plunder and rapine their distinguishing symbol and entertain opposition and enmity to his Majesty to such a degree that the sublime palace from want of vigilance did remain protected from the attack of this nation".

Later on Karam Singh sent his son Kalyan Singh to Browne with the message that the Sikhs were approaching Delhi and the Doab, but out of regard for the British they had given up the idea of crossing the Ganges into the territory of their ally, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh.

Browne in a letter dated camp near Shergarh, 17th November 1783, communicated this news to Warren Hastings:— "By the two papers which I this day have sent to Major Davy you will perceive the very formidable aspect of the approaching invasion of the Sikhs. Their objects appear to be no less than the conquest of all the country possessed by the Mussalmans, and the friendly style of their letters to me as the English minister in this part of the country seems calculated to secure our neutrality".

Dost Muhammad Khan In India.

[By Miss Janki Chopra, M.A.]

Amir Dost Muhammad Khan had surrendered to the British almost voluntarily and unexpectedly. After his surrender he seemed quite reconciled to his lot. But his stay in Afghanistan was not conducive to the interests of the Protege of the British. Macnaghten, the British Envoy, therefore, deported him to India on the 12th of November,⁴ under the charge of Lt. Nicholson.

So far none of the historians has attempted to describe the life of Dost Muhammad Khan in India. They plausibly say that he came to India, settled at Calcutta, went to Mussoorie on account of ill-health, was content with his condition and during the Kabul insurrection remained a passive onlooker. This paper is an attempt to show that he did not settle at Calcutta except for a few months. He was sent to Mussoorie not because of ill-health, but for political reasons. He was not content with his condition and during the Kabul insurrection he was not a passive onlooker but a restless internee who was anxious to be as near to his country as possible.

Before deporting Dost Muhammad Khan to India, Macnaghten had given him a written promise to the effect that he would be allowed to reside at Ludhiana and had recommended to the Government that the ex-chief should be treated as "an honoured guest rather than

4. James Browne's Dispatches, 1782 to 1785, Imperial Records, Foreign Department, 41 A, Nos. 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 45.

1. Sec. Cons., Nov. 30, 1840, No. 47, I. R. D.

2. *Ibid.*

3. Sec. Cons., Dec. 28, No. 43, I. R. D.

4. Sec. Cons., 15th Feb., 1840, No. 23, I. R. D.

a prisoner."⁵ His instructions to Nicholson were neither to treat Dost Muhammad Khan as a prisoner nor to subject him to any irksome restraint, but Nicholson was of opinion that it was impossible to guard his charge leniently. So long as he was on his way to Ludhiana he was obliged to obey the orders of Macnaghten. But no sooner did he reach that city than he placed sentries around the tents of the Amir, prohibited him to go out during the nights and appointed a munshee of his own to stay with the Amir except when he retired to the Harem.⁶ He had already informed Colvin, the Secretary of Lord Auckland about his views and now he put them more forcefully before Clark, the Ludhiana Agent.⁷

The Amir had reached Ludhiana on the 15th of February.⁸ On the 24th he was allowed to move into the palace formerly occupied by Shah Shuja.⁹ Here, too, Nicholson did not relax his vigilant measures. During the day a man of his remained with the exiled chief. He could not go out without permission. Nicholson was almost in close communication with him. At night his premises were surrounded with a chain of eight sentries. They were visited every hour by a patrol guard and were authorized even to fire on the ex-Amir, should he try to escape.¹⁰ All these measures were approved by Clark,¹¹ who did not want the fallen chief at Ludhiana and suspected his motives for choosing that place as his residence. Accordingly he made preparations for sending Dost Muhammad Khan to Calcutta¹² without even waiting for instructions from the Supreme Government.

Before entering Ludhiana, Dost Muhammad Khan had shown a keen desire to visit Calcutta.¹³ But now that desire was on the wane, Clark had to induce him to depart and Nicholson, at Clark's instance, exerted all his influence with him to prevent any delay.¹⁴ Dost Muhammad left Ludhiana for Calcutta on the 15th of March under the charge of Nicholson.¹⁵ He was to proceed by a prescribed route and not to be allowed to visit Delhi or any town in Rohilkhand. Nicholson was authorized to use force in case his charge deviated from his orders.¹⁶

Maddock had invited suggestions from Nicholson as to the manner in which Dost Muhammad Khan¹⁷ was to be received. The latter suggested that the ex-Amir should be treated as a private

5. 53/86 Nicholson to Clark, Feb. 16, 1841, P. G. R.

6. 53/86 Nicholson to Clark, Feb. 15, 1841, P. G. R.

7. 53/108 From Nicholson to Clark, 24 Feb. 1841., P. G. R.

8. *Ibid.*

9. 86/50 Clark to Nicholson, 25th Feb., 1841, P. G. R.

10. 151/33 Clark to Maddock, Feb. 27, 1841, P. G. R.

11. 86/50, Clark to Nicholson, Feb. 25, 1841, P. G. R.

12. Sec. Cons., 29th March, 1841, No. 31., I. R. D.

13. Sec. Cons., March 29, 1841, No. 31, Clark to Maddock, I. R. D.

14. 86/52 Clark to Nicholson, Feb. 25, 1841, P. G. R.

15. 128/56 Maddock to Clark, 12 March, 1841, P. G. R.

individual and not as a sovereign; he has to be furnished with a house and equipage and to be allowed to seek his own amusements. His custodian was emphatic on one point that any proposal to visit a ship particularly a man-of-war was to come entirely from Dost Muhammad as his suspicious nature led him to suspect a mischief whenever he heard a ship mentioned.¹⁶ But during his stay at Calcutta he was shown arsenals, ships, industries, court of justice and troops, simply to impress him with the British power. The object was gained as he is reported to have said "that had he known all these warlike measures of the British Government he would never have thought of opposing their views."¹⁷

But he was not satisfied with his condition. Macnaghten had assured him a liberal treatment and recommended his Government to grant him a pension of 2 lacs of rupees. Dost considered this sum insufficient to meet his expenses and wanted extra money as emergency allowances. Besides, he wanted the full control of the allocation of allowances among his followers and dependents.¹⁸ But the Government neither thought it necessary nor prudent to place large sums of money at his disposal. They told him distinctly that his allowances could not exceed 2 lacs of rupees, one-fourth of that sum would be reserved for emergency expenses and the distribution would rest with the Government. This disappointed the Amir to the extreme.

William Macnaghten was sanguine as to the Amir preferring a residence at Calcutta. But the Amir clung with the utmost tenacity to the promise made to him and in spite of Nicholson's attempts to draw off his attention from Ludhiana he left Calcutta for that place in the 2nd week of September.²⁰

He was still on his way when the Kabul insurrection broke out.²¹ Clark, became anxious more than ever, to keep him away from Ludhiana. He authorized Nicholson to offer the ex-chief a residence at Saharanpur with a summer quarter at Mussoorie.²² The Amir refused the offer saying, "If heaven itself were offered for his residence he would not exchange Ludhiana for it."²³ He even objected to a temporary delay in his return.²⁴ But Clark sent positive orders to prevent him from proceeding towards Ludhiana.²⁵

16. Sec. Cons., 12th April, 1842, No. 119.

17. Mohan Lal: *Life of Amir Dost Muhammed Khan*, pp. 494-5.

18. 53/125A Nicholson to Clark, 3rd March, 1841.

19. 121/126 Maddock to Clark, August 2nd, 1841, P. G. R.

20. 128/154 Bayley to Clark, Sept. 6, 1841, P. G. R.

21. Sec. Cons., June 29, 1842, No. 182A.

22. 86/203 Clark to Nicholson, Nov. 20 1841, P. G. R.

23. 54/158 Nicholson to Clark, Nov. 21, 1841, P. G. R.

24. 54/165 Nicholson to Clark, Nov. 24, 1841, P. G. R.

25. 54/158 Nicholson to Clark Nov. 21, 1841, P. G. R.

On the 2nd of December, Nicholson placed his orders before the Amir who after a great deal of agitation told his custodian, "the rope is round my neck and in your hand and I will go wherever you please but not voluntarily."²⁶ He went so far as to term the British Government, overbearing and false²⁷ (*kooravar and durgoh*). After a stiff argument however, Nicholson succeeded in persuading him to move to Saharanpur.²⁸ Here he was visited by Clark on the 20th December, to whom he told that "he had become but the slave, beggar and prisoner of the Government to which he would have desired to be a friend, that his country was taken from him and that for food and residence he was dependent upon the British Government, that it was not for him, therefore, to demur to any orders and that he had only patiently to submit his neck to the sword, if wished to be used."²⁹

In the meanwhile the situation in Afghanistan became critical. Muhammad Akbar Khan the son of Dost Muhammad Khan assuming the leadership of the rebels began to negotiate the release of his father and murdered the British Envoy.³⁰ By the 12th of January the murder of the Envoy came to be known in India. Dost Muhammad was made close prisoner³¹ and on the 9th of February was removed to Dera, where the prisoning conditions were made more strict. He and his son were not allowed to converse with the individuals not belonging to their suite, nor any stranger was permitted to visit them. The officers on guard were ordered not to converse with the Amir relative to Afghanistan or his position. The Amir's horses and elephant were not allowed to go out. The former were never to be saddled.³²

On February 28, 1842, there came a change in the head of the Government of British India. But no change took place in the treatment of Dost Muhammed Khan. Now, even Dera was not considered a safe place for him and he was removed to Mussoorie on the 1st of May,³³ where he was most rigorously watched.

In spite of all precautionary measures he managed to communicate with his son Akbar Khan, who sent him a messenger with a letter, suggesting that he should fly. The messenger hid the letter in the hollow of a bone which he mingled with meat to show that he had brought it to eat on the road.³⁴

But as a matter of fact there was no need to fly. The way for the exiled chief's release was being prepared. The disasters

26. 54/185 Nicholson to Clark, Dec 3, 1841, P. G. R.

27. 152/92 Clark to Maddock, Dec. 25, 1841, P. G. R.

28. 54/204 Nicholson to Clark, Dec. 14, 1841, P. G. R.

29. 152/92 Clark to Maddock, Dec. 25, 1841, P. G. R.

30. Sec. Cons., June 29, 1842, No. 182A, I. R. D.

31. 55/14 From Nicholson to Clark, dated 14th Jan., 1842.

32. Sec. Cons., June 26, 1842, No. 48, I. R. D.

33. Sec. Cons., Dec. 28, 1842, No. 239 I. R. D.

suffered by the British in Afghanistan were avenged upon every scene of past misfortune and the invincibility of the British arms was demonstrated. The release of the British prisoners was secured through the intercession of Mohan Lal and the Kuizzalbash chief, Khan Sherin Khan.³⁴ Dost Muhammed Khan was recalled from Mussoorie on the 25th of October 1842 and allowed to return to his country. He welcomed the news of his release.³⁵ Leaving Ludhiana in the company of Nicholson he reached Lahore on the 27th of January.³⁶ He was magnificently entertained³⁷ by Sher Singh with whom he entered into a formal treaty.³⁸ But the British did not want him at Lahore and he left the place on the 5th of February. After a short stay at Peshawar he reached Kabul and became the master of the territory

The Dutch Factory at Balasore, and Anglo-Dutch hostilities there in 1786-87.

[By Dr. Kalikinkar Datta, M.A., Ph. D., P.R.S.]

In the archives of the Government of India, New Delhi, I discovered recently, along with a number of records relating to the history of the Dutch in India, two interesting letters of historical importance, addressed by Mr. Lawrence D'Costa, the Agent of the Dutch at their Balasore Factory, to the Hon'ble Issac Fitsingh, Governor of the Council at Chinsurah, dated the 23rd October, 1787 and 10th October, 1788, respectively. They contain complaints from Mr. Lawrence D'Costa against Mr. Wordsworth, Resident of the English Factory at Balasore, regarding the obstructions the latter had put on his trade in *Cowries* (small glossy shells) with the Maldivians (traders from Maldives) who frequented the port of Balasore, and for his mal-treatment of the local Dutch servants and dependants.

Mr. Fitsingh forwarded these letters to Lord Cornwallis, Governor-General in Calcutta, soliciting redress of the Dutch Agent's grievances. The Governor-General placed these before the members of the Council in Calcutta for their joint consideration on the 12th January, 1789, and proposed that their copies be transmitted to Mr. Wordsworth with orders to communicate to the Council the nature of the trade in *Cowries* which had given rise to the differences between him and the Dutch Agent and to answer the several charges levelled against him by the latter for acts of violence which he was "therein accused of having committed in order to exclude

34. 41C/211 Pottinger to Pollock, Sept. 21, 1842, P. G. R.

35. Sec. Cons., Jan. 4, 1843, No. 23, I. R. D.

36. Sec. Cons., Jan. 4, 1843, No. 32, I. R. D.

37. *Ibid*, Sept. 30, 1843, No. 36, I. R. D.

38. Govt. to Clark, 15 and 17 March, 1843, P. G. R.

Mr. D'Costa from a share in the Trade in *Cowries* with the Maldivians"¹ The Council in Calcutta wrote to Mr. Fitsingh on the 12th January, 1789, that they would duly consider his complaints as soon as they had received Mr. Wordsworth's answers to them.

It is not known to me as yet what reply, if any, Mr. Wordsworth sent to his authorities in Calcutta. But as regards *Cowries* it may be noted that these were used by the people of Bengal and of several other parts in India for their ordinary day to day monetary transactions, and also at times for their large monetary transactions, at least from the 17th century,² if not earlier, till the early years of the 19th century, and their use as such gradually disappeared thereafter. So a large quantity of *Cowries* was imported by them from the island of Maldives during the period of their circulation in currency.^{2a} Manucci (1653-1708) writes that *Cowries* "came from the Maldives and are current money in the kingdom of Bengal." There are references to the sale of *Cowries* imported from the Maldives, at different places in Bengal, in Fort William Consultations, dated 14th March, 1717,³ 16th June, 1718,⁴ 14th October, 1720,⁵ and 29th May, 1721,⁶ respectively. In their letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 10th December, 1738, the Council in Calcutta observed: "Wrote to Ballasore for 80 Ton *Cowries*, the ship by whom they were expected from Maldiva lost her passage and was forced into Ganjam, but 3 sloops are arrived with *Cowries* at Ballasore from her.....".⁷ In 1741-42 the "price of *Cowries* broke at 33 *pun*⁸ for a Madras rupee" owing to the arrival of two ships from the island of Madives on the 12th September, 1741.⁹ In September, 1746, Mr. James Altham, Chief of the English Factory at Balasore, wrote to the Council in Calcutta for a supply of Rs. 15,000 to purchase *Cowries* and to defray the expenses of his factory. The Council sent to him the required sum "for the running charges of the factory". But as *Cowries*, imported "from the Maldives were then available in Calcutta at a cheaper rate, that is, 38 *pun* for a Madras rupee, they decided to purchase 25 tons of these in Calcutta and instructed Mr. Altham not to buy any quantity at Balasore¹⁰. As a matter of fact, the value of *Cowries* fluctuated in Bengal according to the demand that was for them and the quantity available in the market¹. Bolts estimated the value of 4,000 to 4,800 *Cowries*, Stavorinus that of 4,800 to 5,200, and Rickard

1. Foreign Department Proceedings, 12th January, 1789. (Imperial Record Department).

2. *Travels of Peter Mundy* Vol. II, p. 311; *Travernier* (Ball's Edition), Vol. I, p. 413.

2a. Bowrey, *The Countries Round The Bay Of Bengal, 1669-79*, p. 200; *Hedges' Diary* (Hakluyt Publication). Vol. I, p. 96; *Dutch Record No. 13*. (Madras Government Publication), p. 75 & p. 170.

3. Wilson, *Early Annals Of The English In Bengal*, Vol. II. Part I, p. 263.

4. *Ibid*, Vol. III, p. 40. (5) *Ibid*, p. 283. (6) *Ibid*, p. 347. (7) Para 22 (I.R.D.)

8. "A sum of eighty *Kauri* shells, equal to twenty *gundas*, of which sixteen are equal to a *Kuhan*". Wilson. *Glossary of Anglo-Indian Terms*, p. 393

9. Bengal Letter to Court, 3rd February, 1743, para 65 (I.R.D.).

10. Bengal Letter to Court, 30th November, 1746, para 19 (I.R.D.).

that of 2,560 to be equivalent to one current rupee. Milburn¹² in 1813 thus reckoned their value:—

4 Cowries	...	equal to,	1 Gunda
20 Gundas	...	" "	1 Pun
4 Puns	...	" "	1 Anna
4 Annas	...	" "	1 Kahun which is about 1/4 of a rupee."

There are relevant references in the works of some contemporary writers about the almost universal use of *Cowries* as the lowest medium of exchange in Bengal throughout the 18th and early 19th centuries¹³. The Dutch traveller Stavorinus, who visited Bengal in 1770-71, writes: "Copper coin is not seen in Bengal. For change they make use of *Cowries*." It was only due to some inconveniences in the exchange of *Cowries* that the use of copper coins was sought to be introduced by the English East India Company in Bengal in 1757. In that year Captain Brohier, Engineer in charge of the construction of a fort at Berhampore in Murshidabad, wrote to Mr. Roger Drake, President of the Council in Calcutta:—"The payment of artificers and coolies in *Cowries* being extremely tedious, it would be necessary absolutely to coin annas either in silver or copper"¹⁴. But the plan did not evidently produce satisfactory results. Thus Captain Brohier observed in one of his letters to the Council in Calcutta in 1760: "..... the coolies and artificers complain that they do not get the real value of the copper money they are paid in at the bazar"¹⁵.

The Letters further incidentally refer to some other significant facts of contemporary Bengal history, political as well as economic, not known to us hitherto from any other source. Thus it is clear from them that, even after the pacification of 1783-84, the relations among the subordinate officers of the English and Dutch Companies in Bengal were not perfectly harmonious, and that it was not followed by the immediate restoration of all the Dutch settlements in India. We read in one of them that the Dutch Factory at Balasore remained in possession of the English from the time of its capture by the latter in 1781 till January, 1786. It is also stated therein that the king of the Island of Maldives issued in 1740 a *parawanah*¹⁶ to his subjects to the effect that "every one who trades to this

11. Wilson, *Early Annals Of The English In Bengal* Vol III, p. 40 & p. 283.

12. Milburn, *Oriental Commerce*, Vol. II, p. 108.

13. For opinions of some of them, *vide*, J. C. Sinha, *Economic Annals Of Bengal*, p. 64-65 footnote & K. K. Datta, *Bengal Subah*, Vol. I, p. 250-52 and p. 457-64.

14. Proceedings, 13th October, 1757. Long's *Selections from Unpublished Records of Government*, Vol. I, p. 104-105.

15. *Ibid*, p. 211.

16. "Order, letter from a man in power to a dependant."

Balasure should always consign under the protection" of the Dutch Factory there, that the vessels from that place accordingly came "under the consignmentand protection" of the Dutch from 1740 to 1772, and that this Dutch monopoly of trade with the Maldivians was subjected to vexatious interference by the English Resident at Balasure after 1772 A. D. The Dutch Resident, Mr. Lawrence D'Costa, complains that it was not possible to obtain any redress of his grievances, caused by Mr. Wordsworth's oppressive conduct, from the Maratha Government in Orissa, "as here in the Maharatta Durbar¹ they do justice only to those who bribe them". It is, indeed, a highly poignant but well deserved comment on the debased character of later Maratha administration.

The Keechaks.

[By Mr. K. P. Mitra, M.A., B. L.]

I wonder if the activities of the Keechaks are so well-known as those of other malefactors whose depredations were the anxious concern of the Thuggée and Dacoity Department.

The Keechaks were a criminal tribe having such other denominations as *Shegalkhous* or *Shegalkhors* (eaters of jackals), and *Shegalmars*, *Shiyalmars*, or *Geedharmars* (killers of jackals). Moving in gangs they wandered from place to place, plundering travellers or villages as occasion suited their purpose. They were bold, cruel and unscrupulous in the extreme and disgusting in their habits of life. They constituted a real menace to the State.

The earliest reference to them in historical records I have found in an incidental mention of them in the history of Bhagalpur Zamindars. In a letter dated 7th September, 1787 the Collector of Bhagalpur transmitted to John Shore, President of the Board of Revenue, a short account of the traditional history of the Zamindars, which, however, was more or less legendary in character. I am quoting an extract from the account of Tuppah Munnyhary :— "In the time of Narrain Sing, son and successor of Mohun Sing the Emperor's treasure on the way to Dhelly was plundered near Succregurry, and suspicion falling on Mudghoon Rajah whose duty it was to guard the roads, an armed force was sent from Moorshedabad to punish him. He was condemned to be trampled to death by an elephant, but when chained to his feet, it is said that the animal sensible of his innocence would not execute the sentence, and the Rajah after being set at liberty established the

17. The construction of a critical history of Maratha rule in Orissa has not been attempted as yet. It can be very well undertaken as there is abundance of materials relating to it.

credit of the elephant's discernment by proving that the robbery had been committed by vagabonds of the caste called Jackal-killers."¹

About the period 1787-96 a state of the good old rule

That they should take who have the power

And they should keep who can

as patterned by Rob Roy existed in Upper India.

A single historical fact will illustrate this. "A party of 400 dacoits of the caste *Shigalkhors* or Jackal-eaters the pretended suite of a Hindu Rajah proceeding on pilgrimage, travelled with elephants, palanquins, escorts and other accompaniments of a person of rank, and traversed the British territory for more than 300 miles, from the Oudh frontier plundering as the occasion suited their purpose and returned with immense booty in safety to their haunts. In this state of unrest, *bantias*, *mahajans*, merchants and bankers, brought their hoards to Martin, whose position was now fully assured, and who engaged for a consideration of 12 per cent to restore their treasures on demand".²

I have found mention of their activities again in the Orissa Records of the forties and early fifties of the nineteenth century, an account of which I am giving below.

In a letter dated 9th April, 1842, an Assistant officer of the Thuggee Department writing from Chittagong requests the Magistrate of Balasore to furnish him with information regarding a class of men called *Geedhirmars* (Jackal-killers) settled on the banks of the Subanreeka (Suvarnarekhā river).³

In a letter dated Patna, 30th May, 1846, W. Dampier, Superintendent of Police, Lower Province, wrote to A. Mills (Commissioner of Cuttack and Superintendent, Tributary Mahals) that Major W. Riddel, Assistant General Superintendent of Thuggee Operations, Hooghly Division, had arrested 12 Keechaks or *Geedarman* dacoits of Midnapur with their Sardar and 5 Keechaks of Bengal tribe who had found refuge with them. There were 250 to 300 Keechaks ranging between 36 and 60 years residing in Balasore under their leader Dya Sing, and in Mohurbunge under their leaders Gungaram and Hararam. Major Riddel had sent to Dampier a copy of the confession of four Keechaks made before him.

The Major also wrote a letter on the 12th January, 1847 to Mr. Mills, Supdt. of Tributary Mahals, requesting him to render assistance in arresting the Keechaks who had found refuge in the

1. Records of the Collector of Bhagalpur.

2. *Bengal, Past & Present*, Vol III. (1909), pp. 104-5, account of Major-General Claud Martin.

3. Records of the Collector of Balasore.

Mohurbhunje territory. A short time ago they had infested Burdwan, Murshidabad, and Jungle Mahal districts, and eastern tracts of Bengal towards Bugoorah etc. and at the time were located in the southern thanas of Midnapur districts. The Superintendent, Tributary Mahals, advised Major Riddel (18th Jan. 1847) to find some pretext to pay a visit to the Raja of Mohurbhunje at his own *ghur*, 30 miles from Danton, explain the object of his visit and concert measures with him to arrest the Keechaks. He had no doubt that the Raja who was a man of good disposition would cordially unite with him to attain the object in view.

In February, Riddel planned conducting operations against the Keechaks in Midnapore and Mohurbhunje. On March 24, the Superintendent, Tributary Mahals, asked the Magistrate of Balasore to act in concert with the Major to help him apprehend Keechak Dacoits, (or *Geedurmars*) residing at Balasore and Mohunpore 4 *cos* east of Danton, under police surveillance.* The Magistrate sent two chaprasis (Sheikh Nana and Baba Khan) with a list of *Geedarmar* (*alias* Chasse Sheegalgeers *alias* Keechaks) dacoits to meet Riddel at Midnapore.

In April Riddel wrote to the Supdt. begging that he might be pleased himself to take steps for arresting the Keechaks.

On 19th May, 1847 F. Lowth, Magistrate of Balasore, (who was also the Asst. S.T.M.) wrote to the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals as well as to F. Gouldsbury, Supdt. of Police, that all efforts to arrest the Keechaks and *Sheegalmars* in Mohurbhunje, and the *Sevakees* residing in the district of Balasore had proved unsuccessful. He informed Major Riddel that the Raja of Mohurbhunje intimated to him that no Keechaks or *Sheegalgeers* or *Sevakens* were residing in his territory.

On 12th August, 1847 Dampier sent to Frederick Halliday, Secretary to Government of Bengal, the original letter (No. 118 of 7th August) from Major Riddel giving an account of the latter's proceedings against the Keechaks of Midnapore and Balasore. The Magistrate of Balasore wrote to Dampier (25th August) that the unsuccessful result of the operation against the Keechaks was not due to inattention of the Raja of Mohurbhunje to orders communicated to him. On September 22, Halliday wrote to the Superintendent, Tributary Mahals, as follows: "The Deputy Governor of Bengal regrets that he is obliged to record his conviction that the failure of Major Riddel's sedulous endeavours to bring to conviction the Keechaks of Mohurbhunje would probably not have occurred if you had given reasonable attention to the subject". The Superintendent however exonerated himself by explaining the cause of the failure of Major Riddel's scheme of operation against the Keechaks.

The records relating to the Keechaks for the next three years are not available. It seems that operations against them continued.

and Major Riddel had some success. In December, 1850 when he wrote to the Superintendent, Tributary Mahals, proposing to send Najebs with approvers into Mohurbunge and other Tributary Mahals for arresting some Keechak Sardars, the latter wrote to him as well as to the Secretary to Government (Nos. 2655-56 dated 14th Dec., 1850) that considering the nature of the relation of the Tributary Chiefs with Government he would not be justified in permitting the Najebs to proceed to Mohurbunge.

However the vigilance continued unabated, lists of dacoits at large were prepared and intelligence was being received regarding their haunts and movements.

On 7th June, 1851, C. H. Keighly wrote from Midnapore to F. Gouldsbury, Superintendent of Police, informing him that a great number of Keechaks would be present at the fair held at Barreputtah in the territory of Mohurbunge in the beginning of July and requested him to use his influence with the Raja for their arrest. On the 24th he was informed by the Supdt., Tributary Mahals that the Raja was requested to arrest the Keechaks.

Next year Keighly himself went to the fair at Baripada. Probably within a year or two progress was made in the arrest of Keechaks whose activities were restrained.

The *Geedarmars* may perchance still exist as a sort of vagrant criminal tribe, looked after by the police in their sojourns. A few years ago it was communicated in the newspapers that in Dholpur a vagabond tribe known as the *Geedharia* used powdered flesh of jackals as a remedy for chronic and obstinate rheumatism—probably a blind as an ostensible means of livelihood. In Gwalior and other neighbouring places, if not the *Geedarmars*, at least their congeners, reside and are a source of constant anxiety to the neighbourhood.

The Early History of the Vernacular Education In Bihar.

[By Dr. K. K. Basu, M.A., Ph.D.]

In January, 1845, The Right Hon'ble Governor of Bengal gave his sanction to the formation of schools in the several districts of Bengal, Bihar and Cuttuck for the purpose of imparting sound and useful instruction in the Vernacular language. As the funds available for this purpose were limited, the number of schools proposed to be established in each district was small. The direct care and control of the infant seminaries were committed to the Sudder Board of Revenue and the local revenue authorities.

The Collectors visited each school in their several districts at least once a year and reported on them annually to the Commissioners who submitted a general report of all schools in their respective divisions through the Board to Government. All boys who came for instruction to the schools paid a small monthly sum for tuition and were charged the full value of books supplied to them from the public stores. It was believed that the necessity of payment tended to induce more respectable classes to send their children to the Government schools which would otherwise be attended by those of the lowest orders.

The system of instruction to be pursued in the school was strictly uniform. At first, the pupil was taught the alphabet, compound letters and numerals. When they had learnt the correct sound of letters and could write all letters from dictation, spelling books were put into their hands. Next, they read pleasing story books, arithmetical tables and primary histories. Having mastered the above, the pupil had to read next the following books:—Urdu—Gilchrist's Grammar, Brown's Arithmetic, Reader No. 1: Hindi—Adam's Grammar, Adam's Arithmetic, Reader No. 1: Bengali—Keith's Grammar, Harle's Arithmetic, Yate's Reader. The students of the next higher class read the following:—Urdu—Reader No. 2, Marshman's History of India, Miss Bird's Geography: Hindi:—same as above: Bengali:—Marshman's History of Bengal, Pearce's Geography. The advanced pupils were required twice a week to write essays and letters on various subjects, which was valued not for their length, but for their grammatical and orthographical correctness and for the closeness of the matter proposed.

The Division of Bhagalpur included, in the first half of the last century, the Districts of Bhagalpur, Monghyr, Tirhut, Purnea, Dinajpur and Malda. Two schools were proposed to be established in the District of Malda, one at the Sudder station and the other at Shibgunj. In the District of Bhagalpur, the town of Bhagalpur, Supaul and Shahebgunj, and in the District of Dinajpur, the civil station itself and Putteerám and Thakurgaon, the latter situated on the high road to Darjeeling, seemed to be suitable places for establishing vernacular schools. Three seminaries were proposed to be established at Monghyr, Sheikhpura and Tegrah, in the District of Monghyr. On the score of population and of traffic, the towns of Darbhanga, Dalsing-sarai and Lalgunj, in the District of Tirhut, as well as, Purnea, Kissengunj and Nathpur, the three places in the District of Purnea, were deemed worthy of having an educational institution in each of the places.

Though some of the private individuals residing at Malda or Dinajpur viewed with general satisfaction the proposition of establishing a school at their places and gave promise of assistance and support, few of the respectable and wealthy Zamindars responded to the Government perwanahs soliciting pecuniary assistance. Of the interior, the apathy of the higher and respectable classes and the indigent condition of the great body of people forbade any bright future for the proposed measure. The Zamindars of Monghyr declared their readiness to send their children and to keep the building in repair, but none offered to provide a

suitable building. The list of contributions to the school fund at Monghyr contained names of persons more or less closely connected with the public courts. In Tirhut, the Zamindars of Darbhanga conceded to grant upwards of half a bigha of rent free land for the site of the school house and another offered the temporary use of a bungalow pending the completion of a school house. But as a matter of fact, the want of funds to meet the expense stood in the way of school houses being erected. The people of Bhagalpur were lukewarm in the cause of establishing public institution for Vernacular education. In comparison with the other districts, conditions at Purnea were, however, more satisfactory.

The total number of teachers appointed in different Vernacular schools in the Bhagalpur Division was 17, of which 3 belonged to the 1st grade, and 5 and 9 to the second grade and third grade respectively. The teacher belonging to the 1st grade received a monthly salary of Rs. 25 and those of the 2nd and 3rd grades Rs. 20 and 15 respectively.

Bhabanath Misra, a late student of the Hindu College, Benares, who had a considerable proficiency in Hindu Law and Sanskrit, was appointed teacher of the Darbhanga School in October 1845. Ramkinkar Bhattacharya, well versed in Bengali and Bengali Shastras, was appointed in the Dinajpur school in November 1845. Haranchandra Ghatak was appointed at Malda. He had satisfactory knowledge of Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, History and Natural Philosophy. Nilambar Barman was appointed at Shibgunj; Lala Sheo Sahay at Bhagalpur; Moulvi Ahmad at Purnea; Shah Yahid-ud-din at Monghyr; Ramlal Misra at Dalsingsarai and Moulvi Mohammad Ibrahim at Nathpur. Lala Sheo Sahay had sufficient knowledge of the English Language. Moulvi Ahmad possessed knowledge of Persian and Hindi, in addition to, Arithmetic, Natural Philosophy and other sciences. Yahid-ud-din knew Geometry, History, Geography, as well as Arabic, Persian and Urdu. Ramlal knew English, Hindi and Persian in addition to Arithmetic, History and Geography. Muhammad Ibrahim had attained considerable proficiency in Muhammedan literature and science, Grammar, Law, Rhetoric, Logic, Geometry and Natural Philosophy. Bhabanath, Haranchandra and Sheo Sahay belonged to the first grade of teachers, Nilambar, Ramkinkar and Yahid-ud-din to the second grade, and Ahmad, Ramlal and Ibrahim to the third grade.

We observe a very discouraging and gloomy state of affairs in matters of Vernacular education in Bihar. The school at Darbhanga which was opened in 1845 with nine scholars on the roll, had 16 students in November of the said year and 12 only in December. The Dinajpur school offered better prospects. It had 155 boys on the books, but the attendance was irregular and varied daily from 90 to 100. The school in the sudder station at Malda had 70 boys in the register of which 63 were Hindus and 7 Muhammedans. At a subsequent date, the number of boys in the Malda school increased to 107. The Shibgunj school in the District of Malda had 19 boys in the register and later number increased to 28. The

school at Dalsing-sarai in the District of Tirhut had only 1 scholar on the register in August and September 1846, 2 in October, and 4 and 5 in November and December respectively. After ten months of its existence the school established at the sudder station of Purnea had at first an average attendance of 125 boys which was reduced sometime later to 76. The Nathpur school located in the District of Purnea was attended by only 27 boys. At Bhagalpur there was a falling off in the number of students attending the school and the number fell from 63 to 35.

In fact, the enlightened and benevolent scheme of Government to enlighten the subject people of India by means of education failed in its object. The zeal and interest shown by the officials in educating the people of the province proved unavailing on account of want of assistance and support on the part of the public. This apathy of the people was due to various factors which may be discussed categorically.

First, the public hardly appreciated the blessings of education and were consequently unwilling to burden themselves with pecuniary charges they could possibly avoid. Never willingly or of their own accord would they offer to incur an expenditure which did not promise some positive and immediate return.

Secondly, the people were generally opposed to the system of mixing together the sons of respectable and wealthy persons with those of the lower and poorer classes. So great was the love for acknowledged rank and respectability that few higher class of people came forward in aid and support of the system by sending their children to school.

Thirdly, the apprehension that the acquirement of knowledge offered to the lower class, if not a right at least, a chance of sharing the emoluments of office, which was considered the hereditary privilege of the high born brought forth apparent apathy or unwillingness of the inhabitants to avail themselves of the kind intentions of Government. The higher classes believed that "to teach learning and manners to the lowborn was to put a sword into the hands of the robber".

Fourthly, there was nothing in the social organization of the Bihar towns resembling the "Commune" of Europe. Except in very rare instances the idea of public spirit was a faint and unintelligible abstraction to the Hindu and Muhammedan population. Few of the native zamindars were enlightened, philanthropic or liberal enough to educate their ryots for the sake of improving their social or moral welfare or of doing good for good's sake.

Fifthly, the services of competent persons who could work as teachers could hardly be procured. The teachers considered the rate of remuneration offered too small to induce them to proceed to any distance.

Sixthly, the want of favour which the institutions found in the mind of the public arose chiefly from erroneous misconceptions on the score of religion. Many of the residents seem to have been deterred from sending their children to the schools for fear of interference with their religion through the books which had been obtained from Calcutta. So much was the apathy and childish prejudices of the people that in some schools where prizes had been given the people had not construed them as the reward of merit but had actually left those schools through the fear that such donations should be regarded as earnest money binding them to the institution.

Seventhly, the indigent condition of the lower orders served as a handicap to the progress of the educational institutions.

Eighthly, the want of Persian and Arabic instruction in the infant seminaries prevented the higher class from sending their children to school. They still clung to the old court-language, the knowledge of which was always held as an accomplishment.

Ninthly, the better classes did not feel the want of public institutions for Vernacular education. They felt that the preferment they were ambitious for, Deputy Collectorships and the like, was to be obtained by learning English.

Robert Clive and the Grant of the Dewani of 1765.

[By Mr. M. L. Roy Choudhury, M. A., B. L., P. R. S., Sastri]

Usually the credit of having planned, settled and arranged the historic grant of the Dewani in 1765 goes to Clive and he is credited to have completed at Allahabad in 1765 what he had begun at Plassey in 1757. but the following documents which I found in course of my search for documents in the archives of Imperial Record Office last October, do conclusively prove that the question of assuming the Dewani did not originate in the mind of Clive, nor was it an original plan of Clive. It was hinted first from the Mughal court, suggested by Durlab and Raja Shitab Roy both, when Clive was not even in India. Clive had the honour of receiving the Altamgha Sanad personally at Allahabad from the Mughal Emperor in 1765 during his second governorship¹.

The battle of Buxar in 1764 which served as the immediate background of the grant of the Dewani, was won when Clive was in England, by the men and money of the Nawab of Bengal, of course under the Generals of the E. I. Co.²

1. Inactivity of Mir J'afar before Plassey was purchased by Roy Durlab & Watt.
2. Cal. of Persian Cor. I., I. R. D., No 1321, 1338, A. B. C. from Shitab Roy to Emperor.

In the General Letter to the Court, dated Dec. 31, 1758, the President and the Council wrote in para 9:—

"The success in Bengal has acquired us so great a reputation at the Court of Delhi that the Vizier has several times addressed himself to the President to use his interest with the Subah to comply with Royal mandate in paying the revenue due to the Moghal from his Subahship; and you will observe in the book of correspondence by letters from Setaub Roy, the Vizier's agent, that the court is extremely desirous of appointing the President, the Collector of this revenue, amounting to 50 laks of rupees, annually. The person invested with this employ, who is styled the King's *duan*, is the second man of rank in the kingdom; such a dignity annexed to your presidency would give extra-ordinary weight to the Company in the Empire, which nothing could be able to remove".

Bengal Select Committee Proceedings 16. 9. 1760:— Mr. Holwell acquaints the committee that (Rai Durlab) says that "we had better demand Sunnuds at once that the power of the Subadary, Buxegerree and Dewanee, be lodged in the English Co..... He thinks, he shall be able without much difficulty to conciliate matter with Comgar Cawn, Pulwarsing, and other Rajhas of the Prince's party, as they are most of them his friends."

Copy of the Raj Ballav's address to the Shahzadah referred to the above letter with usual compliments: ".....They (the E.I. Co.) desire an agreement may be made on your (Shahzadah's) part that the Subadaree and Dewanne of the Subah of Bengal with the Buxee-guree of the army granted in the name of the Company and that Sunnud may be despatched for that..... the stated Revenue as in the time of Muhaubut Jung shall be paid into the Royal Treasury."

In the same address to the Shahzadah, Raj Ballav stands security for the payment of the stipulated sum on behalf of the Company in clear terms; "I am security for the performance of what is here promised for which reason the sooner you despatch your Phirmaunds and the more full their contents, the more effectually will the affairs of the empire be promoted."

Bengal Select Committee Proceedings 11. 12. 1760:— President the Hon'ble Henry Vansittart laid before the Committee two letters one from Shahzadah and the other from Comgar Cawn both dated 12. 11. 1760. "..... Your desire of the grant of the Subahdarree and the Dewanee of the Subah of Bengal etc, together with Buxee-gurree of the armies in the provinces in the name of the Company..... I have consented to the above-mentioned appointment and Phirmaunds in the name of your excellency the Colonel.

Letter from Comgar Cawn to the Governor:—"Your obliging letter containing offers of alliance and service to his Majesty (Which I think will prove an honour to you), with a request of a

Phirmaund with the grant of the Subahdarree etc., of the Subah of Bengal.....agreeable to your desire the royal Phirmaund which has been granted by his royal Majesty in the name of your Excellency will be presented to you.....According to your desire I laid before the High Court your petition for the grant of the Subahdarree etc. of the Subah of the Bengal, and in consideration of your fidelity and attachment all your requests were graciously accorded. I obtained a solemn promise and you may rest satisfied concerning this business."

But the President informed that he had addressed a letter to the Nabab saying "it was not my wish to have the Subahdarree conferred upon the Company, the favours which you lately granted them are sufficient and I remain in my engagement."

The Select Committee Proceedings 5.1.1761:— Col. Caillaud and Carnac wrote from J'afar Khan's garden on 20.12.1760,— "By a letter from the Emperor, dated, 9th instant, that all the demands made by Roy Durlav Ram has been complied with; we are to have the Sannads of Subadarree and liberty of appointing a Naib."

This letter further added that Camgar Khan has upset the whole plan and they blamed the despatch of such letter for Subahship. Mir Qasim was very much angry with the English that they were corresponding with the Emperor beyond his knowledge.

That Shitab Roy was also suspected of treasonable correspondence re. Dewani, is proved by letters dated Oct. 3, 1761 and Oct. 5, 1761.* He tried to explain matters by taking advantage of the vague wording of the above letters, but Mir Qasim was intelligent enough to understand what was passing behind the screen.

In 1761, the Emperor Shah Alam on his way to Delhi, offered to Major Carnac, a confirmation of all existing privileges enjoyed by the company and the grant of the Dewani, provided the company would guarantee the remission to Delhi of the Emperor's share of the revenue". Governor Vansittart who was a determined enemy of Major Carnac for his "unbecoming and arrogant" conduct was not prepared to accept a boon coming through such a channel".

On 9.3.1762, the Court of Directors approved of the refusal of the Dewani by Vansittart. Two days after, Verelest, Carnac, Amyatt, Goote and others formally protested against Vansittart's act in substituting Mir Qasim for Mir Jafar as Nawab; they "urged the Court of Directors either to accept the offer of Shah Alam had made of the Dewani to or sanction an expedition to Delhi in order to subdue the rebels to the Emperor's authority."

4. *Out. of Persian Corr.*, Vol. 1. No. 1339-46.

5. *Ibid.*, Trans. of letter No., 354, D/10th Aug. 1761, issued to Mir Qasim.

6. Firminger's Fifth Report, Sec. 23. 7. *Ibid.*

The episodes relating to the disgrace of Mir Jafar, uplift of Mir Qasim, restoration of Mir Jafar, battle of Buxar, the threatened invasion of Bengal by Shuja-ud-dowla and Shah Alam, death of Mir Jafar and installation of Najm-ud-dowla are too well known to the students of Early British Indian History to need repetition. During the absence of Clive from India (Feb. 1760 to May 1765), powers of the Company had made vast progress⁸. Taken together with the Farman of Furrakhshiyar of 1717 granting 38 villages to the Co., and the permission to fortify Calcutta granted by Siraj in 1765⁹, the grants of Mir Jafar 15.7.1757, of Mir Qasim 27.9.1761, of Mir Jafar 10.7.1763, Farmans of the Emperor 29.12.1764 and of Najm-ud-dowla 20.2.1765,¹⁰ were sufficient for the purpose of establishing any legal or illegal claim on behalf of E. I. Co. for assumption of the sovereign powers, provided they had the mailed fist behind their claim.

The E. I. Co. did not extend their authority all at once lest they might rouse the jealousy of the other European powers.¹¹ Vereleest in his farewell address as late as 1769 said, "We must be cautious of interfering with the native Govt. of awakening the jealousy of the foreign nations." Warren Hastings had the boldness, call it bluntness, to throw off the mask. In the Council Proceedings of Dec. 17, 1775, Warren Hastings said, "All the act of policy cannot conceal the power by which these provinces are ruled nor can all acts of sophistry avail to transfer the responsibility of them to the Nawabthe Nawab is a mere pageant of authority."

Clive who was crooked by nature and who could not take straight view of even a simple thing, twisted the events that happened during his absence specially the battle of Buxar to suit his purpose; at once he set out to take advantage of the death of Mir Jafar, minority and illegitimacy of Najm-ud-dowla¹² and of sincerity and dependence of Munni Begam and he utilised the services of Rai Durlav, Shitab Roy and Riza Khan who were purchasable and who had been purchased, to do the needful for him.

Clive reached Murshidabad on 5.7.1765, and through the interventions of Riza Khan, Shitab Rai, Durlab Ram, Jagat Sett and Sadruddin, the expenses of Nizamat were settled at 50 lakhs of rupees a year. This offer of 50 lakhs was a master stroke to keep down the Nawab.

8. Treaty, D/Sept. 27, 1760, Art. 4 and 5.

9. Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. I.

10. Sanad from the Delhi Emperor was necessary in order to avoid the legal authority of the Crown in England and the local authority of the Nawab.

11. Scheme for an expedition of Austrian Emperor to Bengal, 1746.

12. There was a strong section in Murshidabad in favour of Miran's son against Najm-ud-dowla, son of Munni Begam, a concubine of low cast. Hence Munni Begam clung to Clive who was a patron of Mir Jafar. But Clive's treachery against Najm-ud-dowla, who depended on Clive as a son does on his father, is really very sickening.

Though Buxar was won, the treaty with Nawab Vizier and Shah Alam was yet to be made. Clive utilised this opportunity to have a formal discussion with the Nawab and his party, at Murshidabad regarding details and terms. The Emperor was sent large presents, of course, at the cost of the Nawab, apparently to secure some titles for the Nawab but really to raise the financial credit of the E. I. Co. at the Imperial Court. Clive procured a Sanad for Major Carnac and Shitab Roy for their deputation to Delhi from Najm-ud-daulah's Court. Carnac had already left for Fyzabad in order to bring the Vizier to Allahabad by an offer of friendship. Shitab Roy who, as the Dewan of Behar, had large number of friends at the Imperial Court was expected to manage the affairs at the centre to the advantage of the English. Shitab Roy made frantic efforts at Calcutta, Murshidabad, Patna and Allahabad to convince the Emperor of the utility of reliance on the English. The preliminaries to every thing for the grant of the Sanads were arranged by Shitab Rai both before and after the arrival of Clive on the scene. Clive was fortunately present at Allahabad when the final treaty was made with the Nawab of Bengal and he had the honour of formally accepting the Altamghah grant for the Dewani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. People have forgotten even to mention the names of Rai Durlay and Shitab Roy the two Indians who had really forseen the potentialities of the Dewani for the English and who actually planned the scheme, settled the details and closed the deal.

A contemporary account in Persian of the Mutiny of 1857-58.

[By Syed Hasan Askari, M.A., B.L.]

An interesting poetical account of certain episodes of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 by an Anglo-Indian, named Francis Godlieu Quins, poetically surnamed Fraso, is available in a Persian Ms. which belongs to the O.P.L. of Patna. It is entitled "Fatah Nama-i-Angrez" or Zafar-uz-Zafar. The author says, on Fol. 98a, that he began writing it on the 15th of May, 1857, and finished it at the end of May of the following year, but certain events recorded by him did not occur till July, 1858.

We notice agreement between the author's account and those found in standard works on many important points such as the

13. On 12th June, 1765, the Emperor informed that Sanads were ready and delivered them to Sitab Roy, but he refused because he had no instructions for that purpose.

described as "an Urdu Poet of the German race." (*Adabi dunya*, Annual Number, 1939). Fraso's father, Augustus Quins, a German, had married a French Lady and he was born at Sardhana. According to his Grandson, George Pris, 'Shor,' he died as an old man in 1861.

stories deliberately spread about the greased cartridges² and the mixture of ground bones of obnoxious animals in flour³; the disbandment and imprisonment of 82 (85 ?) troopers (of the third Cavalry), on Saturday, the 9th May and the sympathetic rise of the men of other Indian regiments in Meerut⁴; the mutineers' march to the jail; the rescue of the prisoners; dance of death; wanton destruction of life and properties in European quarters; burning of the court buildings & of the registers of the Diwani Adalat⁵; murder of Col. Finnis⁶ while remonstrating with the troops on the 10th May (Fol. 17b-22); the mutineers' march on Delhi and the junction of the Meerut and Delhi forces; the emperors' collusion⁷ with the mutineers and fresh orgies of blood and the helplessness of the Europeans (Fol. 22a-23b); the first defeat of the mutinous sepoys on the other side of the Hindun river near Ghaziabad (not Ghaziuddin Nagar as in Kaye's),⁸ followed by two other defensive but successful engagements in which the Gurkhas fought along with Goras,⁹ (24-26); the move across the river Jumna to Alipur¹⁰ and minor engagements there (Fol. 28); the seizure of powder, bullets and other ammunitions from the Delhi magazine; and the "first battle"¹¹ before Delhi (at Badli Ka Sarai on the 8th June) which resulted in the defeat and retreat of the enemies within the walls of the city. Here the poet "turns back to the beginning of the affairs" to tell us the sad and "perplexing story of the murder of Mr. Hutchinson¹², the collector and Magistrate of Delhi" and of Mr. Simon Fraser,¹³ "the resident of Delhi" within the fort and the palace of Delhi, (35-36). After a long and rather confused account of the doings of the Purbias and Telingas, the Ghazis and Jehadis and their repeated¹⁴ sallies, our author tells us about the "battle which raged on both sides for one week;" the attempt of the Mutineers to fall from the west on the camp of the English and destroy their grain supply¹⁵ (Fol. 36-40); the "arrival of reinforcements¹⁶ from the west from the side of Firozabad;" erection of the breaching batteries¹⁷ "between the Kashmir

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2. KI, 491, 559.
 3. KI, 639.
 4. KI, 653.
 5. 11642.
 6. KII, 59, 665.
 7. c/o KI, 643.
 8. KI, 183.
 9. 11187.
 10. 11191-193
 11. 17188
 12. He was murdered on the 11th May, 1857; (KII, 80).
 13. KII, 77, 665.
 14. 11554, 574-80.
 15. Events of July 4th and 17th (KII, 565, 391).
 16. This probably refers to the arrival of the Punjab Movable column on Aug. 12 (KII, 650.)
 17. KIII, 559-69; MII, 12-20.

and the Kabul gates facing the walls of the city;" "the last assault on Delhi:" successful "dash into the city;" general Wilson's exploits; capture of Bahadur Shah and murder of his 3 sons.¹⁸ The final struggle which resulted in the complete occupation of Delhi lasted, we are told, from the 14th to 20th Sept.¹⁹

Some of the points in which Fraso's version is at variance with those found in the standard works in English may be noted here (1) The cavalry troopers who were sentenced and imprisoned on Saturday, the 9th May, numbered 85 and not 82.²⁰ (2) That Bahadur Shah called the mutineers, made them take oath, then spoke his mind, and appointed a son and a grandson, General and Colonel, does not appear to be correct.²¹ (3) That the Delhi insurgents belonged to 74 regiments with a total strength of 50,000²² is a new piece of information not borne out by other authorities. (4) Fraso alone tells us about 40 heavy guns of the enemies captured by the Goras in their first victory outside Delhi²³ (28b-33a). (5) The three sons of the king were not impaled, but shot dead by Hodson²⁴.

It would be unfair to under-estimate the worth of this Ms. because of the limitations implied by the few instances pointed above. The real importance of the Ms. lies in the new and fairly detailed information it furnishes regarding the authors' own experience of the Mutiny. He gives a list of the Europeans, officials and businessmen, who fled for their lives from Delhi and elsewhere and found a welcome refuge²⁵ in the house of our poet. These included Col. Newett (?), Captain Forrest, Captain Manghir or Gamhnir, Mr. Carteret, Mr. Salcirt, the young Kelt, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Proctor, Mr. Marshall "the ruined merchant", Mr. Webett, Mr. Hatts and Dr. Batson. There were also many ladies (Mem Sahiban) accompanying these refugees. The poet got news that Col. Newett or Hewett had fled from Delhi because of the atrocities of the sepoys. He hastened to welcome him and found him "distressed, tongue-tied and in tattered clothes". The last to come was "the young and intrepid" Captain Kaf (Gough). He came to Harchandpur, the village where the poet lived, "and was accompanied by 30 horsemen, including a lieutenant." Before leaving for the Meerut Camp, they wrote testimonials appreciative of the services rendered by the poet. The poet's description

18. KIII, 650.

19. K, 610, 645; MII, 51, 79.

20. KII, 51.

21. KI, 643.

22. Wilson's estimate of 40,000—KIII, 551; MII, 79.

23. KII, 184, 187, 190, 192.

24. KIII, 652; MII, 79.

25. Fraso is unable to say about the ultimate fate of Massy and those people.

of the "wise Dr. Batson,"²⁶ when the latter arrived at Harchandpur, is worth referring to. We are told that the Doctor had to come out from the Delhi Cantonment "being oppressed by the Sepoy miscreants". He "had to conceal himself in one village or the other". After a few days of wandering, he reached Harchandpur. He was "bare-footed," in "ochre-coloured clothes", with "an wooden rosary round his neck" and another "on his breast" and a hollowed gourd called "tunba" hanging from his neck. He had hardly any cloth except a long "Kurta" and "was calling Ram Ram" but "otherwise appeared to have lost his senses" (75a). We get two other names, those of Captain Thomas Hald and of General Money. The former reached Harchandpur wounded and afflicted, and was looked after. As regards the latter, a line of the poet suggests that he had made use of the General's letters and dispatches (79).

Another portion of Fraso's work which specially attracts us is directed to the full and historically interesting account of his misfortunes, of the doings of his oppressors, Shah Mall,²⁷ the leader of the Jats and the Gujars, and his Afghan allies and of the successful expeditions of Mr. Robert Henry Walsh Dunlop, the magistrate and collector of Meerut, and the organizer of the Khaki Risala²⁸, against Shah Mall and Nirpat Singh²⁹. We learn that Shah Mall had raised a force which was composed of diverse elements. The execrable Afghan inhabitants of Harchandpur namely Nanwa,³⁰ Karim, Nadir, Aslat, Asalat Kharmast, Nanuhan had joined him. Ismael, Jasoudi and Rambhai, "the inhabitants of Sonahra, used to keep company with him, and it is they who had persuaded some Telingas and Sepoys to join his force. Besides, his following consisted of a large body of Jats belonging to such villages as Sarkhlan, Bajrol, Johri, Bajwarah, Pothi, Dhanaura, Bodhera, Pois, Gorana, Naglagulab, Baroli Bali, Banali Baghom, Santokhpur, Halvari, Baranth, Osaikh. Some of them joined Lajja Ram³¹ after Shah Mull had been slain. Sheo Singh,³² Biddhi and Jaishi were bound by religious tie to Shah Mall. All these vied with one another in oppressing people and wayfarers, plundering villages, setting fire to the houses and destroying grains and provision, if they could not carry them away. They were armed with swords and bayonets. Many of the scattered groups of penniless sepoys and Telingas had made a common cause with the Afghans and the Moghals, and the Jats and Gujar peasantry of the neighbour-

26. The Surgeon of the 74th Regiment who attempted on May 11. to convey letter from Delhi to General Hewett at Meerut. He disguised himself as a Fakir but the colour of his eyes betrayed him. He was robbed and stripped by the Villagers and finally cast adrift to wander about naked and hungry, weary and foot sore; (KII, 91-92).

27. Malleeson, III, 429-34

28. The regiment was raised at Meerut in June, 1858, and was composed of Englishmen, Eurasians and a few Sikhs (MII, 428).

29. *Ibid.*

30. Note the names of persons and places which are quite new and not available elsewhere.

31. This is new and probably an important name. Malleeson however, says nothing about the man and his activities.

32. Despite Malleeson's silence about the trió, they can not, perhaps, be ignored.

hood. The Afghan co-villagers of Fraso had represented the poet "to have made it a profession to accumulate wealth." His Kothi, together with all its effects, was plundered, the ground floor was dug up and the hoarded wealth was brought out, loaded on Chakras and carried away. As for the old poet and his wife Bukhti Bai,³³ they had been already tied with ropes, were mercilessly beaten with sticks until blood oozed out of their bodies, and were taken in a Bahal (two wheeled cart) to village Maitli. The "black"³⁴ of this village, Jats and Gujars, received some of the plundered properties which were distributed at this place. Then his oppressors took him to Banali where the poet received another beating. They wanted some one to ransom him. Fortunately, he managed to secure the services of a Mahajan who stood a surety for him for Rs. 600. The money, along with its interest, was paid. The poet and Bukhti Bai were at last set free but at dead of night.

Fraso was brooding over his utter destitution at his village, and philosophising over the baneful effects of his wealth, when, two or three days after his victimisation, his saviours appeared in the persons of Mr. Dunlop, the Collector and Magistrate, Major Williams, Major Saros (?), Mr. Trumble, "the session judge, and many other big 'Sahebs'." They had set out from Meerut cantonment and arrived at Dola³⁵ which was 3 kos from Harchandpore, and were accompanied by the men of the Khaki Resala³⁶. Being determined to destroy the power of Shah Mull and hearing that the wretch was residing at Basaod,³⁷ Mr. Dunlop proceeded there and the village was burned down. The accursed Shah Mull fled to Dhanaura and when pursued, fled for his life towards Barauth³⁸ via Halwadi. He was, ultimately, overtaken and shot dead. His head being cut off was raised on the point of a spear, producing good results³⁹. The victors left Barauth, crossed the river Hindun and arrived and encamped at Sardhana.⁴⁰ "The black had fled in thousands" but the village of Aqilpura⁴¹ was still refractory. The Khakies arrived at the place and set fire to the village. Nirpat Singh was defeated and slain. His head was severed from his body and his house was given over to plunder.⁴² The victors then left Sardhana for Meerut.

33. A Jaipuri woman who outlived Fraso, and had constant dispute with his grandson 'Shor' about the propriety of the diseased; see Shor's Urdu Masnavi about the Mutiny published by Maadan-i-Faiz Press, Agra, 1863.

34. That our Anglo-Indian poet always speaks of the sepoy's as "Seyatian" is significant.

35. Malleson pronounces it as "Deola". It was towards the end of July, 1858, that Dunlop arrived at this place.

36. MIII, 431. Acc. to Mr. Peyare Lal, Shaukir of Meerut, Shah Mall had plundered Fraso's house on the 17th July, 1858; (*Adhi Duhya*, 1939).

37. MIII, 432. Shah Mull had about 2000 men under him.

38. *Ibid*, 431.

39. The seat of the well-known Begam Samru in whose service Fraso's father had been; see MIII.

40. Malleson calls it Akalpura; the village belonged to Nirpat Singh, a "notorious rebel"; MIII, 435.

41. MIII, 435.

It is significant to find the author a representative of the Anglo-Indian Community, warning the English to "beware" of the Hindus and Musalmans, "who really form one people", "the one siding with the other", and to be "always watchful of them" and "never to trust the country in their hands", for, when "Hindus and Musalmans attain power, they are sure to be inimical to the Christians." They are advised further not to "refrain even from bloodshed" for "many a mischief is produced by evil-doers" and to "manage their affairs with the help of their own fellow-men" and "to send Christians in India in every direction."

The Rise of Mir Jumla.

[By Mr. Jagadish Narayan Sarkar, M.A.]

In this paper an attempt has been made to trace, as far as possible, the stages of the rise of Mir Muhammad Sayeed Mir Jumla to power in Golkonda, mainly on the authority of Nizamuddin Ahmad Shirazi's *Hadiqat-us-Salatin*¹ with incidental supplementary information, gathered from other Persian sources and the 17th century English Factory records and foreign accounts². Born³ at Ardistan in the family of an extremely poor Sayyid oil-merchant of Ispahan, Mir Muhammad, managed to acquire some knowledge of letters and secured the office of a clerk to a diamond merchant, who was frequently in touch with Golkonda⁴. Tormented by economic wants, aggravated by the financial oppressions of a grabbing *Shaikh-ul-Islam*⁵, he left the land of his birth, like many other Persian Shaikhs in search of fortune. He arrived at Golkonda in the service of a Persian merchant, carrying some horses from Persia for sale to Sultan Qutb Shah⁶.

42. JNA, 95a.

1. By Museum Pers. Ms. Add. 6542: Rieu I, 321-2 Ethe (IO) No. 464. I have utilised Sir J.N. Sarkar's transcript.
2. M.U. III, 530: Tabrezi's Golkonda letters (Pros. I.H.R.C. Mysore session 1942); Waris; *Riyazus Salatin*; Storia do Mogor I. 231-232; Tavernier; Bernier 16-17; Thevenot (1686 Edn.) 102; Gribble; Stewart; Dow; Foster, *Eng. Factories*; Love.
3. Exact date of birth not known: in 1659 (1070 A.H.), while conducting the war with Shuja. Mir-Jumla says that he was 70 yrs. old. (*Aurangnamah*, Sarkar Ms. 172). This would give the date of birth to be 1000 A.H. (c. 1591). In his letters to Qutb Shah, written after the conquest of Gandikota (in 1650), Mir Jumla speaks of himself as middle-aged or old; (Tabrezi 67a, 68a).
4. Of my article in Pros. I.H.R.C., *op. cit.*; Dow; H. S.; see K.K. Basu, in Pros. I.H.R.C. (1940).
5. Tabrezi; See my article on Mir Jumla-Iran correspondence in J.B.O.R.S. (June 1942).
6. Bernier 16; Storia, *op. cit.* Very probably he arrived at Golkonda before 1630.

Anxious to rise in life, Mir Muhammad utilised his fortune, amassed through diamond trade⁷ and extensive commerce, for realising his political ambition. By wise and well-placed generosity, he gained for himself many friends in the royal court. By 1045-1635, we find him as a *Sillahdar*, holding the office of *Sar-i-daftar Shahi*. His eventual appointment as the *havaladar* of the port of Masulipatam, was due to the kind patronage of the then Peshwa, Nawab Allami Fahmi Shaikh Muhammad ibn Khatun [?] (entitled Mir Jumla)⁸. His record of service, as the *Shahbunder* of Masulipatam was excellent. After a year (c. 1637) he was put in charge of the *mahal* of Mustafanagar (Condapilly), a big fort of Telingana, and he made commendable efforts to manage its administration and to develop its resources. In obedience to a royal *farmañ* of Muharram, 1047, Mir Muhammad arrived at the court on Safar 7, with presents, probably including several fine elephants and various cloths of Europe and China. The Sultan received him well, and "discerning the signs of wisdom and ability in him", appointed him *Sar-i-khail*, in succession to Syed Abdullah Khan (night of Safar 9,—23 June, 1637)⁹.

Applying the epithets *Asaf-jahi*, *Asaf-manzilat* and *Asaf-mariabat* to Mir Muhammad, Nizamuddin Ahmad writes¹⁰: "The affairs of the Sultanat and the duties of religion and prosperity were all discharged with great wisdom and care, and he ascended the stages of coming nearer the Sultan. By dint of his fortune and wisdom, he soon came to possess sovereign authority (*istaklal*) in the task of administration. He put a stop to the road of profit and oppression of *abbab-i-dakhil*. He collected a huge sum from the subordinates (*ummal*) and Brahmanas and deposited it in the treasury". The Sultan rewarded him with a bejewelled inkstand and granted him one pargana yielding 30,000 huns, so that he might keep at his beck and call strong, young Arab retainers.

Next, he earned a great reputation by having completed, within the brief space of a year (Rabi 1, 1048, May-July—1638), the construction of the four-storied Palace Hayat Mahal, as desired by the Sultan's mother, with the help of Malik Almas, *havaladar* of the masons. A summer-room, together with a *ghusalkhana*, built on the topmost story, was decorated by the expert designers of Irak and Hindusthan, with paintings of scenes representing the court, shikar and war¹¹. On the occasion of the royal visit to this Palace, in August 1638, Mir Muhammad assisted by special agents of the Queen-mother, had velvet carpets and gold brocade spread over the entire way, 1,000 yards long, intervening between the first gateway and the palace, there being altogether eight lofty gateways. He presented

7. He farmed diamond mines under feigned names. Bernier, 17; Stolin. Dow.

8. H.S. 369-98; 569-70, 596. F.E.F. 1622-23 p. 233.

9. My article on Early Relations of Mir Jumla with the English (up to 1650) in Pros. K.H.O. (1939), 919-23. The 'Mallivuce' of Eng. Factory Records was not *maulavi*, as suggested by Foster, but Mulla Wais. H.S. *op. cit.*; 446-8, 517.

10. H.S., 449-50.

11. *Op. cit.*, 503-508. The building was as beautifully designed as the Eram (garden) built by Shaddad; an example of Indo-Persian architecture and painting in Golkonda.

to the Sultan, one gold bed-stead together with its accessories, using up in all about 12 mds. of gold, besides gold wire and other choicest presents and fine cloths. The Queen-Mother honoured him with special presents¹².

The wisdom and abilities of Mir Muhammad in "the performance of the duties of the diwani" excited the jealousy of Mulla Wais, *dabir* and *Munshi-ul-Mamalik*. Resenting the latter's intervention, Mir Muhammad made "delegations of insincerity" against him. Finally the Sultan dismissed Mulla Wais (Rabi 1,—July, 1638) and ordered Mir Muhammad to look after his retainers and pay them out of the proceeds of the former's jagirs¹³. Soon, for having organised a fine parade of his Iraki contingent in the maidan of *Dadmahal*, Mir Muhammad was given a fine robe of honour and "with the high post of *Sar-i-khail*" was combined the dignified office of the *Wazarat*¹⁴.

The good opinion of the Sultan was further confirmed by Mir Muhammad's performing extremely useful services during the Sultan's tour from the capital to the Sea coast¹⁵. Mir Muhammad set himself to the task of collecting and arranging for the goods of the *Karkhanas* and the requisites of the journey, settling the necessary administrative problems, and providing all conveniences possible. Nizamuddin Ahmad, an eye-witness, pays a high testimony to the organising skill of Mir Muhammad by observing that at Hayatabad (Nov. 1-9) every one of the vast concourse of soldiers and people, had his wants satisfied through his endeavours. At Mustafanagar, then under his own jurisdiction, Mir Muhammad's services were highly commendable. He had to climb to the citadel perched on the rock to inspect and cleanse the big royal palaces and make lavish preparations for the royal reception. He had also to remain alert day and night for looking after the necessities of the occasion and the night defence against carnivorous animals¹⁶.

At Bezwada, (23 Nov.) the Captains of the English, the Dutch and the Danes, coming from Masulipatam, interviewed the Sultan¹⁷. Next day Mir Muhammad was ordered to go towards the port, set up tents and frame rules (for the procession?) from the gateway of the port to the *banksar* (? bankshall), and he had to reply with due courtesy to the Sultan's queries. After the royal inspection of the port, Mir Muhammad amused the Sultan and his family by arranging for catching sea-fish at Dubighat (Point Divy) (Dec. 3)¹⁸. The next day, after offering peshkash, Mir Muhammad acquainted the Sultan with the condition of the port and its inhabitants. The Sultan remitted the *Zakat* payable on every article, "at

12. *Op. cit.*, 508-13.

13. *Op. cit.*, 516-519, 596, ff. 602-10, 594, 530.

14. *Op. cit.*, 531.

15. *Op. cit.*, 533-41.

16. *Op. cit.*, 549, 550-1, 557, 558-59, 562-3 (for history and details), 564.

17. *Op. cit.*, 564-56; very probably Andrew Cogan's mission to the Sultan of Golkonda (1939) was arranged now. See my article, *Pros. I.H.R.C.* (1939).

18. *Op. cit.*, 565, 569-70, 571-2, 573-4.

the door of the port", by all merchants, native or foreigner, and also the brokerage on jewels, including rubies from Pegu. For the amelioration of the condition of the people, many persons, *Suyyids*, *alims*, pious men, living in the port, whether new-comers or old residents, received pensions, grants of land or cash for subsistence, and *waxifas* were continued to be granted to the *Suyyids*. Mir Muhammad praised the Sultan and thanked him for his favours¹⁹. On the day of departure (Dec. 7), the Sultan honoured Mir Muhammad by presenting him the royal wrapper, together with the *char-kob*, an essential article of dress of honour pertaining to the office of the *Sar-i-khail*, a sword with a jewelled sheath, 2 Iraki-horses, one with jewelled saddle, bridle and trappings and the other horse and one tusker with silver trappings²⁰.

In the light of these details it is possible to understand how Mir Muhammad gradually came to wield enormous political influence in the State and "indeed commanded the whole kingdom". He filled various honourable offices and in all gave a good account of himself, and he "proved himself a well-wisher of the Sultan and became his favourite." As Waris aptly remarks that he came to have the power of *rath-o-fath* (i.e. controlling) all the affairs of Qutb Shah²¹. Great in civil government, Mir Muhammad (Mir Jumla) was equally great in war and he proved his military abilities in the conquest of the Eastern Karnatak, to which he was deputed by the Sultan a few years later.

A Letter of Balaji Narayan Natu.

[By Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., M.R.A.S.]

The letter under discussion was found in the collection of the letters of Bajirao II of Poona. In all there are 38 letters in the collection. The whole series was purchased by C. J. Erskin Esqr. in Feb. 1865, and is deposited in the Oriental Section of the library of the British Museum. All the letters in the collection except the present one relate to Bajirao himself. It is not known how it came to be included in the collection.

It is not known to whom this letter was addressed nor does it bear the year in which it was written. Only the month of March has been mentioned. From the context it appears that the letter was written immediately after the cession of the Peshwa's Territories to the British. Balaji Narayan Natu was a well known political figure and played an important part when the British took possession of Poona after Bajirao II's sudden retreat and subsequently

19. *Op. cit.*, 575-78.

20. *Op. cit.*, 578-580.

21. Bernier, 17; H.S., 517-18; Storia, *op. cit.*; Letter to Bantam (Sept. 3, 1639). Waris, 102a, M.U.III, 530.

he again came to prominence in the case of Chhatrapati Pratapsinha of Satara. The letter describes the tour of the Governor of Bombay in the Deccan to meet and conciliate the Sardars of the Peshwa. It commenced from Poona on the 11th of November and ended in the month of January with the Governor's return to Bombay. Balaji Narayan had been with the Governor throughout this tour. They were out for nearly 2 months. The itinerary is given below with a list of the principal persons received by the Governor.

THE PLACE VISITED.

THE PRINCIPAL PERSONS RECEIVED.

Jajuri.

Maharaja Chhatrapati of Satara.

Solapur via Tembhurni.

Bijapur.

Gopalrao of Jamkhindi, Keshabrao of Kurundawad, Ganpatrao of Miraj, Ganpatrao Konher of Shedwal, Narayanrao Ghorpade of Ichalkaranji, Narayanrao of Ramdurga, Vyankatrao Ghorpade of Mudhol and Nargundkar.

*Fall of Ghataprabha
near Gokak*

Sirol Ghupat

Raja of Karawir (Kolhapur), the Governor talked to him about Bhau Maharaj.

Miraj

Chintamanrao of Sangali, Madhaorao Baba, Krishnarao Apaji, Govindrao Nana of Chinchani, Nipankar, and Gopalrao of Miraj. Nothing could be done as the last one was in mourning.

Kahrad.

Madhaorao Baba, Govindrao Nana and Krishnarao Apaji met him there again.

Chiplone.

The son of the Hapsi of Janjira.

Nagothane.

The Angria.

Bombay.

The Governor reached Bombay in January by the sea.

3. At these places mutual greetings and at homes took place and the Governor re-invested with Sardarship, the chiefs who had not previously been confirmed. Balaji Narayan appears to have been of some use in bringing about a conciliation between the Supreme Government and the Maratha Sardars. He accompanied the Governor upto Bombay. He stayed there for a week and then left for Poona with a present of Rs. 2000 in cash.

4. The letter appears to have been addressed to some British Officer. It was dispatched from Poona. Captain Robinson, who according to this letter left for Bombay for his marriage is possibly to be identified with Collector Robertson who was placed in charge of Poona Town, after Bajirao's withdrawal from that place (vide

his letter of 8.4.1818, *Bh. Iti. Sam. Quarterly*. Vol. 20, II p. 92). So this letter was written after the cession and before the settlement was complete, i.e., some time in 1818 A. D.

Verbatim translation of the letter of Balaji Narayan Natu is given below :—

Balaji Narayan Natu, humble and meek at your service. It is alright here upto this 26th March by your grace. After you left Poona, the Governor commenced his tour from Poona on the 11th of November. I had accompanied his camp. He met the Maharaja Chhatrapati of Satara at Jejuri. He then moved to Solapur via Baramati and Tembhurni. Thence he went to Bijapur. There, he received Gopalrao of Jamkhindi, Keshabrao of Kurundwad, Ganpatrao of Miraj, Ganpatrao Konher of Shedwal, Narayanrao Ghorpade of Ichalkaranji, Narayanrao of Ramdurga, Vyankatrao Ghorpade of Mudhol and Nargundkar. After mutual at homes, those who had not received previously (their investiture) were invested with the Khilat of Sardarship. After leaving that place he visited the fall of Ghataprabha near Gokak. While returning from that place to Miraj, he saw the Raja of Karawir at Sirolghupat. He advised the Raja not to molest Bhaumaharaj, who had complained about it, and asked him to treat him duly as was done previously. After finishing the work there, the Governor returned to Miraj. He met there Chintamanrao of Sangli, Madhaorao Baba, Krishnarao Apaji, Govindrao Nana of Chinchani, Nipankar and Gopalrao of Miraj. As he (Gopalrao of Miraj) was in mourning, no feasts were arranged. He then left for Kahrad, he met there Kitturkar and Pratinidhi. They were mutually treated. Then he went to the Ghat of Kumbharlya. There he saw Madhaorao Baba, Govindrao Nana and Krishnarao Apaji again. They were received by the Governor and were presented with the Khilat of Sardarship. He then went to Mahad via Chiplone. The son of Hapsi of Janjira went there to see him. After mutual feasts the Governor left for Nagothane. After being received and treated there by the Angria, the Governor left by sea and reached Bombay on the (blank) of January. I also accompanied him to Bombay. I stayed there for a week and then returned to Poona after getting permission from the Governor. I received an Inam of Rs. 2000. Mr. Rabik Sahib went to Satara, Mr. Morris returned to Poona and Major Robinson went to Khandesh. Captain Robinson left for Bombay for his marriage. With a request that you should always be kind to me and should ever be bestowing favours.

Two palm-leaf *Pattas* of the time of the last Chauhan Ruler of Sambalpur - Atharagarh.

[By Pt. L. P. Pandeya, Kavyavinod, M.N.S.I.]

As the present day Raipur, Bilaspur and Drug districts in C.P. with the surrounding feudatory areas, were and are still known as "Chhattisgarh" meaning 'the country of 36 forts', so the present Sambalpur District formerly in C.P.'s and now in Orissa, together with the adjoining feudatory states, was and uptill now is designated as "Atharagarh", 'the land of 18 forts'.

The figure 18 had some sacred attraction and significance and it had become a fashion as it were, with the Rajput rulers of the 17th century A. D. in this part of Mahakosala to have territories comprising 18 forts or semi-independent tracts or states each under a local subordinate chief. Thus we have in the words of the Dewars, or, the local bards, —

18 forts (Atharagarh) in Raipur Kingdom.

18 forts (Atharagarh) in Ratanpur Kingdom (together making the nomenclature "Chhattisgarh.")

The 3rd Atharagarh was the Sambalpur Kingdom over which a branch of the Patna family of Chauhan Kings held sway for more than 300 years¹. The Rulers of the Sambalpur - Atharagarh were the over-lords of the 18 subordinate chiefs under them, and assumed the title of Maharajas.

The palm-leaf *Pattas* which were issued in Vikram Samvat 1903 (1846 A.D.), were granted by Maharaja Narayana Singh Deva, the last king of the Chauhan family of Sambalpur.

He ruled from 1833 to 1849 A.D. (vide *Bengal Dist. Gazetteers—Sambalpur*, by L. S. S. O' Malley, I.C.S., 1909.) In 1850 A.D. this Kingdom Sambalpur - Atharagarh lapsed to Government. To quote the words of the *G. P. Gazetteer* (1st Edition 1868)⁴, "The Khalsa portion of Sambalpur was formerly a Gurjat State, which lapsed to Government in 1850 on the death without male issue of Rajah Narayan Singh."

1. The Chhattisgarh rajahs ruled originally over 36 forts and thus the tract came to be called 'Chhattisgarh' or the country of 36 forts. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, (N.S. XV. 1919) page 241.
2. Refer to *Journal of the A. S. of Bengal*, 1919, "Sambalpur-Atharagarh", page 218.
3. Refer to my note—"Fixing of the dates of Chauhan Kings of Sambalpur," in the Final Report on the Land Revenue Settlement of the Sambalpur District 1926 by Khan Bahadur M. Hamid.
4. Printed at the Chief Commissioner's Office Press, in 1868, at Nagpur, C.P.

The above is explained in fair details by the late J. B. Fuller* who writes:—Up to the close of the eighteenth century the present district of Sambalpur formed one of the *three closely connected Chiefships, ruled by Chauhan Rajputs*.....Two of these Chiefships (Patna and Sonpur) are still feudatory states; Sambalpur escheated to the British Government in 1849 from failure of direct heirs in the ruling family.

The introduction of Sambalpur to recent history was furnished by its collision with the Mahrattas (of Nagpur) in 1797. At this time the Raja of Sambalpur was the most important Chief on the Orissa border, and exercised feudal rights not only over his relations at Patna and Sonpur, but also over a number of other Rajput and Gond chiefs in the vicinity. His breach with the Mahrattas ended, however, in the conquest and occupation of this country, he himself being interned in the Chanda District* along with his son. Through the intervention of Major Ronghledge of Ranchi, Sir Richard Jenkins, the Resident of Nagpur obtained the release of Jait Singh, the Chauhan ruler of Sambalpur, and of his son, from Chanda in A.D. 1817. This Jait Singh having died in 1818, his son Maharaj Sai was placed on the *gadi* in 1820. His rule lasted for 7 years. On his death in 1827, his widow Mohan Kumari was allowed to succeed. But due to disturbances and rebellions engineered by the pretenders to the throne, especially by one Surendra Sai, a Chauhan claimant, it was thought proper to set up Narayan Singh, a descendant of Bikram Singh, eldest son of Rajah Bulliar Singh, the 5th ruler of Sambalpur. Thus the period between 1827 to 1833 A.D. was of great "turmoil and trouble" for the people of Sambalpur. Peace was restored with the help of British Government when Narayan Singh established himself as ruler.

The palm-leaf *Pattas* were issued during this period. Palm-leaves appear to be the substitute for paper by the Chauhan court.

Each of the *Pattas* measures 10 inches by one inch and contains writings in Oriya Script in four lines on each side. The record is in the prevalent Oriya language of the district, which had become by then the mother-tongue of the Raj-family which originally came from the U. P. The side which contains the signature of the ruler also has the emblem "*Discus*" plainly drawn.

Both the *Pattas* are in my own possession. They were granted to my great-grandfather Pandit Bholu Nath Pandeya, Gnantia of Balpur Jeora and other few villages, which our family still holds.

5. J. B. Fuller, officiating Junior Secretary to the Chief Commissioner, O. P., vide *Report of the Land Revenue Settlement of the Sambalpur Dist.*, 1876-77, by A. M. Russel Esquire.

6. Nana Sahib of Nagpur took them off to Nagpur with him and the Nagpur Rajah had them confined at Chanda in 1807. O. P. Gazetteer, 1868 A.D.

The translation of one of the *pattas* is as follows :—

Hail Maharajadhiraj Sri Sri Sri Maharaja Sri Sri Sri Narayan Singh Deo Sri Maharaja's Chandrapur Pargana. For Balpur etc. etc. in Chandrapur Pargana this *Patta* for five years from Samvat 1904 to Samvat 1908 is given to Bhola Nath Pande *Gauntia*, in "*Gauntia thika*." Every year the Malguzari (revenue) fixed at Rs. 100 one hundred (tanka) should be paid in two *kists*. As is customary "*Bhet-begar*" you should do and attend to other state work. Ryots should be kept in possession (of their lands). Whether you cultivate your village lands or not, without any objection, you will have to pay the dues to Sri Sarkar (state). At the expiry of five years, this *Patta* should be made over to Sri Sarkar. Know it as a (previous) warning. In Samvat Vikram 1903, in the month of Pns, in dark half, 12th day.

Figure of Chakra (Discus) emblem.

Signature of the Maharaja.

Explanation :—*Gauntia* or *Gaontia* is the name given to a village Headman, otherwise called 'Malguzar'.

Gauntia thika (गौण्टियाई ठीका) means a lease for a certain period for holding a village (or a number of villages) as its *Gauntia*, with responsibility of village management and payment of village revenue. Uptill now the term *Gauntia* is in general use for the Village Headman or Malguzar in the present Sambalpur Distt. & in the adjoining feudatory states.

Leaving the comparative discussions and critical study of these *Pattas*, the text shows how and in what form such records were worded in the language of the people and were properly dated and signed by the ruler himself.

Apart from these, the document bears testimony to a fixed system of land revenue collections from the village Headman in two instalments every year. Taking of "*Bhet Begar*" was a recognised item in the village administration, as the *Patta* discloses. The state was keen over the welfare of the ryot class and the *Gauntia* was ordered to settle ryots and to keep the village lands in proper cultivations under them. It may safely be assumed that the ruler of Sambalpur had a kind of land Revenue settlement for a term of five years, as the contents of the *Patta* disclose.

The 2nd *Patta* is meant for a village named Jeora in the same Chandrapur Pargana under the Sambalpur-Atharagarh. It is identical in respect of wordings of the text, and is dated in the same year.

* Discus is the royal emblem of Chauhan Kings (in Oriya).

A FARMAN OF AHMAD SHAH DURRANI.

[By Mr. S. M. Jaffar, B.A., M.R.A.S. (Lond)]

After the assassination of Nadir Shah the Durrani established themselves at Kandahar in 1747 A. C., carried their conquests as far as Delhi, occupied the Peshawar plains and the Punjab and remained supreme till 1818 A. C. The *Farmans* issued by the Durrani Kings are, therefore, confined mainly to the territory lying between Delhi on the east and Kandahar on the west. In their form and features they bear close resemblance to the *Farmans* issued by the Mughal Emperors of India. The one dealt with in this paper was issued by Ahmad Shah Durrani, the founder of the Dynasty, in the 10th year of his reign. It is at present in the custody of Mr. Jan Muhammad Khan Ghulam Jilani of Peshawar City. It measures 1' 9" x 11½" and contains six lines of approximately 30 words each, leaving a margin of 3½" on the right side. It is written on a piece of thin paper which was either originally yellow or has turned pale on account of old age. It is in bold and beautiful *Nastaliq* handwriting, but there are some words in the *Shikasta* style also. At places the *Farman* is badly damaged and consequently some words have totally disappeared, but the gaps thus caused are immaterial in that they do not affect the text or the subject-matter. It is mounted on a piece of thick paper of equal size, apparently to rescue it from further deterioration, and only the entries and the seals on the reverse are left out. The pasting being crude, the creases thus caused have concealed a number of words and letters and thus rendered the reading rather difficult and, withal, doubtful. The *Farman* opens, as usual, with a dedicatory religious formula *Bismillah Kher ul Asma* written in *Nastaliq* style on the top and followed by *Bismillah*..... in the *Tughra* style just below it. Below the *Tughra* it bears the seal of Ahmad Shah Durrani, which has within it the figure of a peacock, the words *Ya Hu* (O God), the letter *ح* and the name

1. The space allotted to each paper for this session being restricted to 5 pages only, I have withheld the second instalment of my series on the *Mughal Farmans in Peshawar* which, if printed, would have covered at least 20 pages.
2. I have brought out the main features of Mughal *Farmans* in my paper for which see *Procs. I. H. R. C.*, XVIII, 236-37.
3. Formerly this *Farman* and all other documents described in my *Note on Historical Documents in N.-W. F. P.* (*Procs. I. H. R. C.*, XVIII, -) were in the custody of Mr. Pir Bakhsh Khan, M.L.A., Advocate, Peshawar, but now I find that they belong to Mr. J. M. K. Ghulam Jilani and are in his possession.
4. A kind of Persian hand-writing; a fine round hand.
5. *Shikasta* means broken. Here it refers to Persian running style.

and title of the King, Ahmad Shah, Durr-i-Durrani. It is not clear what the letter ع stands for. The shape of the seal is the same as described in the transcript. To the right of the opening line of the *Farman* is a *Tughra* (monogram) which, as far as I have been able to discover, reads *Farman-i-Ahd-i-Humayuni-i-Ahmad Shah*. I have reproduced the sketches of both the *Tughras* in order to enable the reader to make out for himself what they really contain. The *Zimn* (endorsement at the back) consists of three entries in the *Shikasta* style and ten seals of responsible officers. Some of the seals are so dim and damaged that I could not decipher them even after great difficulty.

REFERENCES :

1. indicate words which are missing or which are too dim and too damaged to be deciphered with accuracy.
2. ? indicates words which are doubtful in script or sense.
3. () indicate conjecturally restored words or figures.

TRANSCRIPT

(Here is the *Tughra*)

بسم الله خير الاسماء

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

آنکه بنابر تحصیل دعائے خیر جهت ذات بابرکات اقدس و وجود مقدس از ابتدائے سنہ مبارکہ تحقوٹیل موازی یکرفع و خود زمین و آب اراضی میان دوآب توابع قصبہ بگرام کہ مشہور پشاور بہ اراضی چراغبیگخان است بصیغہ وظیفہ ہبہ سالہ دروجہ عالیحضرت حقائق و معارف آگاہ مشیخت و کہالات دستگاہ قدوۃ العارفین و زبندۃ السالکین شیخ محمد تقی قادری زیدہ توفیقانہ و مشیخت و صلاحیت ہاز (۹) حافظ احمدیار مرید مشارالیه کہ از سلسلہ متبرکہ قادریہ میباشد بدستور سلاطین فردوس مکین ہندوستان کہ فرامین آنہائے درندست داشتن شفق و مرحمت فرمودیم کہ ہر سالہ اراضی مزبور مغروض خود را دایم

-
6. This *Furman* was very kindly lent to me by the owner for a day and hence I was able to clear most of my doubts about it.
 7. These two words are so written in the original and I have not been able to make out what they actually are and what they really mean.
 8. Here the language appears to me to be defective. I have taken the underlined portion to mean 'whose *Furmans* they have in their hands' because a similar *Furman* was issued by Muhammad Muazzam (Bahadur Shah) in favour of the same donee. (*Procs. I. H. R. C.*, XVIII, 243-45).

سال در حال خود زراعت نموده حاصل و محصول زراعت اصل و فرع
متصرف معیشت خود نموده به دعاگوئی دوام دولت ابد مدت لازوال
اشتغال دارند - حکام و عهال حال و استقبال پشاور بنصرت یکفرع و خود
که مساوی موازی بود پخته جریب است بنصرت مشارالیهما و گذشته
بعلت صادر یاب و کمالاب بیگار و شکار و ملکانه و وجه فصلانه و میرایی
و تکرار کم و زیاد محصول قلم و قلم خود را نگاه دارند که هر سال رقم
محدد طلب نه دارند - مستوفیان عظام و کرام و لشکرنویسان دیوان
اعلی کاغذات از قسم مبارک را در دفاتر ثبت شده
اگر بعید مدعائے هر دو یک دانند در عهده شناسند ۲۱ شهر صفر
ختم الله بالخیر و ظفر سنه ۹۹ (۱۱) 10

(Reverse)

عبدہ محمد هاشم	محمد یوسف	الہک لالہ اللہ
ص	ابن علی رضا	الحق الہیین محمد
الہک لالہ اللہ	ملاحظہ شد	غلام شاہ ولیخان
محمد عبدہ	افوض امری علی اللہ الی	رسول بہادر خان
	عبدہ گل محمد	
مطلح شد	اللہ بر خوردار	از دار حکم اقدس
عبدہ	الہک لالہ اللہ	عبدہ
	الحق	

TRANSLATION.

In the name of Allah, Who has the best of names. 11

In the name of Allah..... 12

By order of (*Ya Hu*) Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durrani ح 13

Fairman of the auspicious reign of Ahmad Shah 14

In order to elicit good wishes for the blessed personality and holy personage from the commencement of the august *Takhaqqul* 15 we have

9. These 2 words are so written in the original. Obviously they were some taxes.

10. See foot note 21 *in-fra*.

11. This is a dedicatory religious formula written in *Nastaliq* style.

12. These are the contents of a *Tughra* which is punctuated with some letters and figures the significance of which is not clear to me.

13. These are the contents of the seal of Ahmad Shah Durrani (*vide* Transcript)

14. These words are contained in a *Tughra* (*vide* Transcript) and seem to be connected with the first line of the text.

15. This is the name of the tenth Turkish year.

shown favour and kindness by granting *Yak Rafa' wa Khud* of land and water of the land situated between the Doab attached to the town of Begram, known in Peshawar as the land of Chiraghbeg Khan, by way of perpetual maintenance allowance to *Alihazrat Haqiq o Ma'arif Agah, Mashikhat o Kamalat Dastgah, Qudwat-ul-Ari-fin o Zubdat-ul-Salikin*¹⁶ Shaikh Muhammad Taqi Qadiri (may his means increase) and to his disciple¹⁷, *Mashikhat o Salahiyat-ul-Asr*?¹⁸ Hafiz Ahmad Yar, who belongs to the sacred system of the Qadiris, in pursuance of the policy of the Sultans of Hindustan, whose abode is heaven and whose *Farman*s they have in their hands. They should cultivate the said land, forming their grant, throughout the year for themselves, spend the income and the revenue, the capital and the profit on their maintenance and keep themselves occupied in offering prayers for the perpetuation of our Government up to undeclinable eternity. The present and future officers and administrators of Peshawar should, in the manner prescribed, release the *Yak Rafa' wa Khud*, which is equal to 90 *pacca Jaribs*, in favour of the aforesaid persons; and as regards *Sadriyah o Kamelab* (?) *Begar o Shikar, Milkana o Wajhe Faslana o Mirabi*¹⁹ and increase or decrease in the land revenue, they should keep their pen and power within control and should not demand fresh amount every year. The high and great accountants and officials of the Central Revenue Office should keep...the papers of the kind of... in the offices...²⁰ if they find it against the wishes of anyone of the two. They should consider this as binding upon them. 21st of the month of *Safar* (may it end with peace and success!) (11) 69.²¹

-
16. This is a courtesy title and means His Holiness, the Knower of Truths and Realities, the Possessor of Greatness and Perfection, and the Leader of the Learned and the Pious.
 17. I am not sure about this word. It can be read as (وجیه) which means a favourite.
 18. This is a courtesy title and means 'the Great and the Righteous' (?)
 19. These are the names of various taxes levied in those days.
 20. It is difficult to supply these omissions accurately, but it is obvious that they purport to lay emphasis on the urgency of the *Farman* etc.
 21. The figures ۶۹ (69) are not quite clear in the original. Ahmad Shah ascended the throne in 1159 H. and the present *Farman* was issued in the tenth year of his reign, i. e. in (1159+10=) 1169 H. Hence they are correct.

(Reverse)

<i>Al Mulk La Ilaha Ilallah</i>	Muhammad Yusuf	Abdahu	Ghulam Shah Wali Khan
<i>Al Haq al Mubin, Muhammad.²²</i>	Ibn Ali Raza. ²³	Muhammad	Rasul Baha- dur Khan. ²⁴
Witness.	Witness.	Witness.	Hashim. ²⁵
<i>Examined.²⁶</i>			<i>Az Dar-ul- Hukmi- Aqdas²⁷</i>
<i>Afaiwax-i-Amri Allah</i>	<i>Al Mulk La Ilaha Ilallah</i>		.....
<i>'Ala.</i>			
<i>Abdahu Gul</i>	<i>Al Haq.....</i>	<i>Abdahu.²⁸</i>	<i>Abdahu²⁹</i>
<i>Muhammad.²⁷</i>			
.....	<i>Al Mulk La Ilaha Ilallah</i>		<i>Informed³⁰</i>
<i>...Allah Barkhurdar...³¹</i>	<i>Al Haq.....³²</i>		.....
.....			<i>Abdahu...³⁴</i>

COMMENTS.

The *Farman* transcribed and translated above makes a mention of some important historical persons and places, a brief account of which will be apropos of the subject.

Ahmad Shah-Durr-i-Durrani.

Ahmad Shah Durr-i-Durrani (also known as Abdali) is too famous a historical figure to call for special comments.

22. These are the contents of a seal of oval shape, measuring $\frac{1}{2}$ " x $\frac{1}{4}$ ".
23. The seal containing these words is quite intact and its contents are quite clear. It is square in shape and measures $\frac{1}{2}$ " x $\frac{1}{2}$ ".
24. These words are contained in a seal of oval shape, measuring $\frac{3}{4}$ " x $\frac{1}{2}$ ".
25. These are the contents of a rectangular seal, measuring $\frac{3}{4}$ " x $\frac{5}{8}$ ".
26. This is an entry in the *Shikasta* style of hand-writing.
27. This seal is quite intact and its contents are quite clear. It is rectangular in shape and measures $\frac{3}{4}$ " x $\frac{5}{8}$ ".
28. The seal containing those words is of oval shape and measures 1" x $\frac{1}{2}$ ".
29. This is an entry in the *Shikasta* style of hand-writing.
30. This seal is of square shape and measures $\frac{2}{5}$ ". It is extremely dim.
31. There are the contents of seal of a oval shape, measuring $\frac{1}{2}$ " x $\frac{1}{4}$ ".
32. These words are inscribed in a seal of oval shape, measuring 1" x $\frac{1}{2}$ ".
33. This is an entry in the *Shikasta* style.
34. These are the contents of a seal which measures 1" x 1".

Shaikh Muhammad Taqi.

In a *Farman* of Aurangzeb, issued under the *Nishan*³⁴ of his son, Muhammad Muazzam, he figures as the recipient of a grant of land and it appears that the same grant was confirmed by Ahmad Shah Durrani.³⁵ The name and title of the grantee, the nature of the grant, the area and situation of the land granted and other contents of the present *Farman* confirm this impression. The Shaikh belonged to the Qadiriya system and commanded great respect and influence. Even the kings acknowledged his erudition and piety.

Hafiz Ahmad Yar.

No information is available about this man except that contained in the *Farman*: He was a disciple of of Shaikh Muhammad Taqi and belonged to *Qadiriya Tariqa*.³⁶ In it he appears as co-donee with the said Shaikh and his name is mentioned with much respect, thus indicating the extent of his erudition and piety. He was a *Hafiz*, i.e., had committed the Holy Qur-an to his memory.

Chiraghbeg Khan.

It is not known from any source who this man was. As a big piece of land was known after his name, it appears that he was a local magnate.

Begram and Peshawar.

I have given a brief account of both these places in my previous paper *Mughal Farman's in Peshawar*³⁷ and there is no need to reproduce it here. Suffice it to say that Begram was a big quarter in Peshawar which was then an important district of the province of Kabul, and that under Taimar Shah (1773-93 A.C.) Peshawar became the capital of the Durrani Empire.

An Afghan account of Anglo-Afghan relations (1836-1842).

[By Dr. I. H. Qureshi, M.A., Ph.D.]

The Delhi University Library has acquired a manuscript which bears the title of *Akbar-namah*. It consists of 164 folios (328 pages). The book has no colophon; therefore it is not possible to determine the exact date of the copy. It seems unlikely, however, that this should be

34. A *Nishan* means a letter or a communication addressed by a Prince to anyone except the Emperor and the senior members of his family.

35. See my paper in *Pros., I. H. R. C.*, XVIII, 242-45.

36. This system was founded by Shaikh 'Abdul Qadir Jilani, and is known after his name.

37. For some more details about him, see my paper in *Pros., I. H. R. C.*, XVIII, 242-45.

an autograph, because it is disfigured at places by mistakes which are obviously copyist's errors. At places the text has been corrected or even altered which raises the suspicion that this copy might have been revised by the author himself. The only date connected with this copy appears on P. 1 (a) which records the sale of this book to one Jawan Singh by Nasr-ullah Khan which took place in 1859. Thus this is quite an early copy; because the author mentions on P. 11 (a) that he finished the book in 1360 A.H. (1844 of the Christian era) after having worked on it for a year. The title of the work is mentioned on P. 1 (a) and P. 163 (b), as well as in the title of the concluding chapter. Besides, the author says on P. 11 (a) that he has written "the story of the war waged by that young lion, Akbar, the warrior who defeated the Europeans." Thus the hero of the story is the Prince Muhammad Akbar Khan, the son of the Amir Dost Muhammad Khan of Afghanistan. The book is in Persian verse; it contains about eleven thousand lines, the metre is the same as of Firdaws's great *Shahnamah* or of Nizami's *Sikandarnamah*. Indeed the author explains in so many words (ff. 9-11) that he undertook to write this epic to demonstrate that the spirit of poetry was not dead. He naturally chose this metre because it had proved such a potent instrument in the hands of his great predecessors. Its swift movement has a great affinity with the swift action of the battle. Hamid Kashmiri, the author, has not risen to any great heights; his imagery and phrases are mostly borrowed; yet it should be conceded that he has drunk deep at the fountain of Persian epic poetry and his verse does not lack vigour or spirit. Indeed the literary merit of the work makes an endless description of battles readable. But herein also lies the main fault of the work as a book of History. Nineteenth century warfare is not easy to clothe in classical descriptions of combats and charges; though the author introduces the effects produced by artillery and firearms, there still persists an air of unreality about his battles. Then minor skirmishes also assume the importance of pitched battles. However, let it be said to the credit of the author that he nowhere strays farther away from the facts as known to him than is absolutely necessary for the purposes of the poetic art. He is a poet; but he is also a conscientious chronicler. His chronicle, however, has no dates.

The story begins with the revolt against Shah Shuja which resulted in his exile and ends with the restoration of Dost Muhammad. After the customary homage to God, the Prophet, the author's spiritual guide and the saints of that line, there is an eulogy of Shaikh Ghulam Muhi-ud-Din, the governor of Kashmir. Then the author explains the circumstances which led to the composition of the book. Then comes the story of the revolt against Shah Shuja which led to his exile and his wanderings in India. This is followed by a description of the fighting between Ranjit Singh's governor of the Panjab and Dost Muhammad resulting in Hari Singh's death in battle at the hands of Muhammad Akbar. After a chapter on Akbar's wedding which is very lyrical in style, begins the story of Anglo-Afghan relations. The mission of Alexander Burnes, the British expedition to instal Shah Shuja, its temporary success, Dost Muhammad's flight to Bukhara, his imprisonment and escape, his struggle against the British in spite of his diminished resources, Dost Muhammad Khan's surrender and exile in India, the circumstances leading to the British

withdrawal, the withdrawal and its consequences, and the Amir's restoration have all been narrated.

The importance of the book does not, however, lie in the narration of the main events which is sketchy and somewhat flattering to the Afghans; the more interesting features are those which give the reader an insight into the internal politics of contemporary Afghanistan and the forces that fashioned them. For instance we learn that Dost Muhammad did not lose influence in the beginning of the campaign simply because of the potency of British gold but also because the nobles considered Shah Shuja their legitimate ruler. Shah Shuja would have succeeded if he had been a little less vindictive, a little more tactful and not such a tool in the hands of his allies. The British made themselves absolutely obnoxious, and their deeds aroused the worst suspicions and fears of the Afghans. Similarly we know what the Afghans thought of Alexander Burnes, because our author is far from flattering. The Afghans were throughout shrewd assessors of British intentions and designs, yet they seem to be ignorant of the machinery of Government in England and British India. This ignorance, however, becomes exaggerated in effect, because the author must use metaphors and assign ceremonial etiquette to the English court which has no reference to European manners.

This copy has nine miniature paintings to illustrate some of the incidents mentioned in the text, but they lack vigour and refinement and are exceedingly crude in execution. The calligraphy is not bad; the paintings should have been left out.

Some unpublished Persian letters of the Rajah of Travancore.

[By Mr. I. H. Baqai, M.A.]

These letters of the Rajah of Travancore are taken from the yet unpublished Persian records. They throw important light on certain aspects of the Third Anglo-Mysore War.

On the morning of the 29th December 1789 Tipu invaded the Travancore Lines. His complaints against the Rajah were that "he (the Rajah) had given protection to the Rajahs of Calicut, Coolingherry, etc., who were indebted to Tipu's sircar; that he had purchased Cranganore from the Dutch and that he had erected lines on a part of Cochin. dependent on Calicut".¹ By the Treaty of Mangalore the Rajah of Travancore was to be considered as an ally of the British. The Rajah naturally expected the forces of the Company to come to his help. He informed the Governor of Madras several times about

1. *Selections from the State Papers of the Gov-Gen. of India (Lord Cornwallis)*, Edited by Forrest, Vol. II, page 3.

the preparations of Tipu on his frontier. But the Governor of Madras was slow to move. He in fact suggested a policy of appeasement and asked the Rajah not to break with Tipu unnecessarily. When the Rajah pressed further for help he clearly let him know through Mr. Powney, the British Resident at Travancore, that since "the purchase of the Cranganore and Joacottah was made without our concurrence or approbation the honor of the Government ought not to be committed by taking part in the defence of places that we considered to have been furtively obtained and that the Rajah must be left to take his own measures for their defence".² But Lord Cornwallis was of a different opinion and when on the 26th January, 1790, a despatch from Madras informed him about Tipu's attack on the lines at Travancore he considered it equivalent to a declaration of war.

Thus a War with Tipu started again. These letters deal mainly with the period 1790-92. The first of this letter³ was written on 24th Rabi-ul Thani, 1205 A.H. corresponding to 31st December 1790. This conveys the satisfaction of Rama Varma, the Rajah of Travancore on the safe arrival of Lord Cornwallis at Madras to take the field in person against Tipu Sultan. Lord Cornwallis was not satisfied with the campaign of 1790. In a letter dated the November 12, 1790, to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, of the Board of Control, he writes, "we have lost time and our adversary has gained reputation, which are two most valuable things in war; I am afraid I was too much in the right, when I doubted the propriety of Musgrave's plan of attacking Tippoo's southern dominions."⁴ In the above letter the Rajah of Travancore welcomes his arrival at Madras and hopes that "he would be kept well informed about the progress of British forces against the enemy and that he would be regarded as a partner in success and victory." [The second letter is dated 8th Dhi-Qadah, 1252 A.H. This is an obvious mistake; the year should be 1205 A.H. Besides expressing complete faith in British victory it also gives the information that the Travancorian troops along with the British forces "crossed over into the neighbourhood of Periapattam but they returned as agreeably to your Lordship's orders to Calicut and will remain there till the end of the rains".⁵

The third⁶ of these letters dated 8th Ramadan, 1205 A.H. (12th May 1791), congratulates the Governor-General on the conquest of Bangalore and expresses wishes for further success. The fourth one⁷ of 24th Jamadul-awal, 1206 A.H. is also of a complimentary nature and congratulates the British on the capture of Mugali—a hill about 18 miles west of Chittoor in the Chittoor District. The fifth

2. Sec. Cons., 27 Jan. 1790, No. 1.

3. Persian Letter Received 23 Feb. 1791, No 42.

4. Ross, Vol. II, page 51.

5. Persian Letter Received 8 Aug. 1791, No. 370.

6. " " " 11 Aug. 1791, No. 376.

7. " " " 13 Feb. 1792, No. 125.

letter is not from the Rajah of Travancore but from his Dewan. The Dewan expressed a desire to join General Abercromby but was asked by that General to wait. Now, hearing the news of the peace being concluded between the Allies and Tipu, he expresses his regret for not being given a chance to join the General. He also seeks permission to see the Governor-General to represent to him the views of Rajah of Travancore on several points.⁸ The sixth letter written on 16th Rajab, 1206 (10th March 1792), and received on 28th March, 1792, conveys the satisfaction of the Rajah on the surrender of the forts of Shamsabad and Qamarabad (Ramgiri and Sivangiri) by the enemy to a detachment under Captain Welsh. The next letter which neither bears the seal of the Rajah nor the date on which it was written merely congratulates the Governor-General on the successful conclusion of war with Tipu Sultan and obtaining possession of that part of his country which ran contiguous to the Company's territories.⁹ The next two letters¹⁰ of 22nd Shaban, and, 6th Ramadan, 1206 A.H., respectively are very important as they relate to the dispute of the three taluks Paroor, Alungar and Koorutnar which belonged to the Rajah of Travancore but were inserted by Tipu Sultan as part of the cessions in his schedule of Jumabundy annexed to the Treaty of Peace. The Rajah of Travancore protested against this to the Governor-General. Mr. Powney, the British Resident at Travancore also supported the Rajah and reported that the Hobilees¹¹ (taluks) in question had appertained to the Travancore Rajah ever since 1755, having been at that time made over to him by the Rajah of Cochin, when the later was at war with the Zamorin.¹² The Rajah was on the whole disappointed with the Treaty of 1792 and these two letters express that disappointment as well.

These letters are couched in the ornate Persian which was in vogue during that period; the style and the language are of a high standard. The paper is ornamented with gold and the calligraphy is mostly *Shikastah*. The quality however varies in the different letters, some of which are beautifully written. The letters from the Rajah bear his signatures in Dravidian script. The idiom and language bear strong traces of Islamic influence; indeed it is difficult to distinguish them in any way from letters composed in Muslim courts. The envelopes bear the seal in wax which is square in shape and is inscribed with the words "Rajah Ram Raj Bahadur, *san* 1185" in *nastaliq* characters.

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8. Persian Letter Received 14 March, 1792, No. 169.
 9. " " " 1 May, 1792, No. 253.
 10. " " " 30th May, 1792, No. 305, and
13th " " No. 376.
 11. Corruption of the Persian word "haveli".
 12. *Joint Commission Report of the Province of Malabar 1792-3*, Madras, pages 104-5.

Annexation of Cachar, 1832.

[By Mr. B. P. Chakravarti, M.A.]

Although the treaty of Yandaboo restored Gobinda Chandra to his ancestral throne, Cachar could hardly extricate herself from the chronic internal troubles. Every day things were moving fast from bad to worse which at last forced the hand of the British Government to annex that country.

Gobinda Chandra was "a man of weak character and pacific disposition but tyrannical and avaricious". His weakness was exposed on several occasions in his vain attempts to reduce the rebel Tularam and in his constant appeals to the British Government for help against the enemies. His greed for wealth led to his ruthless oppression on the people with its concomitant evils. The ryots being oppressed hard, emigrated to the neighbouring countries of Sylhet, Tippera and Jaintia etc., leaving Cachar practically depopulated. The produce of the land declined for want of cultivation and the rich plains of Cachar turned into jungles. The position of trade and commerce was equally bad, if not worse. From the early times there was a very brisk trade in wax ivory and silk etc., between Manipur and Sylhet. The Manipuri men and women also frequently used to go on pilgrimage to Nadia and other holy places and they used to purchase their necessities at Sylhet and Dacca. As Cachar was the only route of communication, any intervention by a second man is bound to estrange the feelings of the Manipuri king. Since the beginning of the reign of Gobinda Chandra these pilgrims and the merchants were subjected to the "groccesses exactions" by the Cachari king. The sale of certain articles was prohibited in Cachar, the merchants were sometimes compelled to sell certain articles of merchandise to the king of Cachar who dictated his own price. These restrictions were never expected to be tolerated by the King of Manipur and constant friction, sometimes culminating into a threat of invasion always kept Gobinda Chandra busy.

Besides, Tularam was a constant source of trouble in the country. All the attempts of Gobinda Chandra to reduce him had ended in smoke. Even after the conclusion of a treaty of re-conciliation in 1829, Gobinda Chandra could not forget his ancient grudge against Tularam. Within a few months, following the ratification of the treaty, the old feeling of enmity was revived with exceptional bitterness and the result was fresh anarchy and chaos in Cachar. Secondly, Tularam caused new complications by questioning the validity of Gobinda Chandra's claim to the *Raj*. He declared that Gobinda had lost his title to the *Raj* not only by his tyrannical conduct, but he was not legally crowned with the

1. Captain Fisher's Memorandum on Cachar, Pol. Cons., 18 June, 1830, No. 53.

2. Pol. Cons., 14 May, 1832, No. 81.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Sec. Cons., 25 Nov. 1831, No. 60.

5. Pol. Cons., 14 May, 1832, No. 81.

approval of the "Forty Sempongs"—the council of the forty men of the royal descent, in whom the right of selecting a king was supposed to be vested. According to the ancient usage the king was to be selected from the "Forty Sempongs" with whose families only he was competent to contract marriage alliance. But it was alleged that Gobinda had violated all these old practices.

Lastly the enmity between Gobinda Chandra and Gambhir Singh was responsible to some extent for the internal troubles of Cachar. Although Gambhir Singh could not substantiate his pretended claim to Chandrapur, a tract of land in that locality was made over to him in 1829 for erecting a military store through the mediation of David Scott⁶ and the rights and privileges of Gobinda Chandra were formally guaranteed. But constant friction followed as a matter of course. The Cacharies suffered oppression at the hands of Gambhir Singh; Gobinda took grievances to his British friends.

Thus the evils which were eating into the vitals of the kingdom during the life time of Gobinda Chandra were patent to all. With a weak king at the head of an incompetent administration, the people of Cachar hardly knew any peace. The British Government, had therefore, to consider the expediency of annexing the country even before the death of the reigning king. In 1829, Mr. Tucker, the Commissioner of Sylhet, wrote to the Governor-General in Council⁷ "for the peace and happiness of the inhabitants of the country now suffering under every change something should definitely be settled, a successor to the Raja should be selected or it should be declared that the British Government should assume the sovereignty of the Country on the death of the present Raja as the paramount lord and the natural successor of the State having no heir to the Raj." Gobinda Chandra was even assured that if he agreed to transfer the country of Cachar to the British Government, the latter would excuse him of the payment of the annual tribute of Rs. 10,000⁸ as enjoined by the 4th article of the treaty of 1824. But far from agreeing to the proposal Gobinda Chandra was "exceedingly averse to admit the discussion of such a topic." He, on the other hand, wanted to strengthen his claim to the *Raj*, challenged by Tularam, by adopting a child from the neighbouring ruling families⁹. But the Governor-General in Council were not agreeable to the proposed adoption, as that might cause another serious disturbance in the country.

In April, 1830, Gobinda Chandra was murdered at the instigation of Gambhir Singh. Captain Fisher, Deputy Quarter-Master General in Sylhet, took temporary charge of the administration of Cachar, pending the final settlement of the *Raj*¹⁰. But very soon a new factor compli-

6. Pol. Cons., 14 May, 1832, No. 88.

7. Pol. Cons., 14 May, 1832, No. 81.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. Pol. Cons., 18 Jun, 1830, Nos. 53 and 62.

cated the whole question of annexation. Hardly a month elapsed after the murder of Gobinda Chandra, when Raja Gambhir Singh of Manipur applied to the British Government for a lease of Cachar for 20 years on an annual rent of Rs. 15,000¹¹. Capt. Grant, Commissioner of Manipur, in a lengthy report¹² strongly supported the prayer of Gambhir Singh. He recalled his past services to the Government and strongly emphasised that if not the whole at least that portion of Cachar which lies to the north of Barak and to the east of the Madura river should be given on a lease to Gambhir Singh, as a means of strengthening the tie of friendship and acting as a break-water against any future Burmese aggression. As the Governor-General in Council had not yet come to any definite conclusion about the final settlement of Cachar they could not ignore such an important suggestion. They, however, were reluctant to do anything immediately, as Gambhir Singh was implicated in the charge of murdering the Cachar Raja. Moreover, nothing could be done without taking the expert opinion of Lt. Pemberton and Captain Jenkins¹³ in the matter and also without considering other claims.

The "ostensible claimant" to the vacant *Raj* was Tularam. Both Mr. Tucker and Captain Fisher investigated his title and found that he had no blood connection with the royal family of Cachar. Gobinda Chandra never recognised Tularam's claim and declared him to be the son of Khasadeo and Ratnamala, — a Manipuri slave girl.¹⁴ Thus even from his own account it is obvious that Tularam was a man of humble origin. His descent from the ancient royal family was also denied by many Cacharies¹⁵.

In the next place, the succession was claimed by Gobindaram,¹⁶ the cousin of Tularam. His claim was advocated by some Cacharies who declared him to be the natural son of Krishna Chandra by a slave girl. As Gobinda Chandra left no successor Gobindaram's partisans argued that the defect in his title could be overlooked if his claim was supported by the "Forty Sempongs." But Gobindaram's "pretended paternity" remained un-substantiated and it is to be remembered that the question was never raised during the life time of Gobinda Chandra, while his enemies were active in conspiring against him. On the other hand, Gobindaram since his childhood had been brought up in Tularam's family.

The claims of Chandraprabha, widow of Gobinda Chandra, either as a sovereign princess or a zamindar were found to be contrary to ancient practices and Hindu law. In the first place, never in the history of the ruling dynasty did a woman occupy the throne of Cachar¹⁷. Secondly, Chandraprabha's marriage with Gobinda Chandra was not strictly

11. Pol. Cons., 9 July, 1830. Nos. 44-6.

12. Sec. Cons., 25 Nov. 1831, No. 60.

13. Sec. Cons., 3 Jan. 1832, No. 30.

14. Pol. Cons., 14 May, 1832, No. 81.

15. Pol. Cons., 14 May, 1832, No. 100.

16. *Ibid.*

17. Pol. Cons., 14 May, 1832, No. 99.

legal from the point of Hindu law,¹⁶ as she was first married to Krishna Chandra and after his death became only a consort of her deceased husband's brother. So "this later union is considered with disapprobation by all the Hindus including a majority of Cacharees." But inspite of the obvious defects in her claims both Mr. Scott and Captain Fisher thought it expedient to admit Chandraprabha as a zamindar with a life tenure in case of British annexation of the country¹⁰.

The alleged right of the "Forty Sempongs" was also enquired into¹⁰. It was discovered that the formal assent of the Sempongs was sought only when a masterful prince seized the throne by upsetting the usual order of succession. No reference to this custom is to be found either in the Manipur chronicles; or in the writings of Gobinda Chandra. It can be safely concluded "that if it was the custom in ancient time to procure the confirmation of a title to the Raj at an assembly of the Muntries and Sympongs yet the practice has been long discontinued and is by no means applicable to the present condition of the country"¹¹...."

Lastly, would it be expedient to hand over Cachar to Gambhir Singh? Neither Lt. Pemberton nor Captain Jenkins could agree to this proposal¹². They considered the proposed tribute of Rs. 15,000 too small in proportion to the potential resources of the country which were bound to improve under good Government. According to Captain Fisher's¹³ estimate the total revenue of Cachar amounted to Rs. 39,007, and even after the deduction of Rs. 15,876 as the normal expenditure of the administration, there would remain a surplus of Rs. 23,131 which was 50% in excess of Raja Gambhir Singh's offer. The plains of Cachar were fertile by nature and under good management the outturn could not but increase. Captain Grant's arguments that the revenue of Cachar would help Raja Gambhir Singh to add to this military efficiency found no support in past experience. A large sum of money had more than once been placed at the Raja's disposal, but he did not spend a single rupee for his army, the entire amount being diverted to his own extravagant designs. Moreover, the geographical contiguity of Cachar and Sylhet could not be safely ignored. Cachar is connected with Sylhet by many navigable rivers. Cachar was the only country where the British troops could conveniently meet the Burmese troops, if they succeeded in piercing the defence of Manipur. As the resources of the Manipuri king were admittedly limited he could not be expected to offer the Burmese any prolonged resistance¹⁴. Moreover, the people and inhabitants of Cachar were already tired of the tyrannical government of their late ruler. It would be for them an inconceivable disaster if the administration of

18. Pol. Cons., 14 May, 1832, Nos. 100 and 103.

19. Pol. Cons., 14 May, 1832, No. 99.

20. Pol. Cons., 14 May, 1832, No. 100.

21. *Ibid.*

22. Pol. Cons., 14 May, 1832, Nos. 109-10.

23. Pol. Cons., 14 May, 1832, No. 109.

24. *Ibid.*

Cachar was transferred to such an oppressive tyrant as Gambhir Singh. In the words of Captain Jenkins²⁵ "for the sake of civilisation and humanity, the Government are bound to extend their effectual protection to a people that have fallen under their administration.....that under the circumstances of transfer Gumbhir Singh could ameliorate their condition is doubtful...and an unwilling people cannot be transferred to a foreign prince without the Government securing for the unfortunate beings, so made over, effectual means of appeal or a place of refuge."

Thus a vacant *Raj*, without any lawful heir, chronic external and internal troubles and the appeals of an oppressed people, at last forced the Governor-General in Council to annex the plains of Cachar. Gambhir Singh's proposal for the lease of Cachar was rejected, though he was allowed to hold the eastern valley of Cachar, an unproductive and mountainous region on the recommendation of Lt. Pemberton. But he was required to retire from Chandrapur. Captain Fisher proclaimed the annexation of the plains of Cachar on the 14th August, 1832.

A few news-papers of pre-Mutiny period.

[By Mr. K. Sajan Lal, M.A., F. R. S. A.]

A perusal of Dr. I. H. Qureshi's paper entitled "Two news-papers of pre-Mutiny Delhi" reminded me of similar old news-papers lying in the Idarah-i-adabiyat-i-Urdu, in possession of my esteemed friend Dr. Zore. I am very grateful to him for permitting me to make use of them for the purpose of this paper.

In this paper I will deal with only four pre-Mutiny news-papers, viz, Jami-ul-akhbar, Fawaid-un-nazirin, Qiran-us-sadain, and Delhi Urdu Akbar.

Jami-ul-akhbar.

This news-paper was lithographed on thick white paper and published every Monday. It contained eight pages (11'6" x 7'3"). These pages were divided into two columns. The editor's name does not appear, but the last page gives the publisher's name as Saiyad Rahmat-ullah. The subscription was a rupee a month. It was published in the first lane next to the garden of Babram Jang, Mount Road, Madras.

Dr. Zore possesses the following volumes :—

Vol. 12. It contains issues number 1 to number 42. The first No. 1 was dated 4th Muharrum, 1269 A.H., corresponding to 18th October, 1852, and the last, No. 42 was dated 15th October, 1853.

Vol. 13. It contains issues number 2 to number 50. Number 2 was dated 13th Muharrum, 1270 A. H., corresponding to 17th October, 1853. No. 50 was dated the 18th September, 1854.

This paper gave great prominence to the local Madras Council Bulletins which appeared in the first column just below the title and the date. It consisted of various orders of the Madras Government pertaining to the judiciary, military, etc. The arrival and departure of high officials and proclamations were the chief items.

The grant of two lakhs and fifty thousand rupees for the establishment of a medical college at Calcutta was welcomed in an editorial. Another piece of news was the completion of a ship named the Sultan-ul-Bahr belonging to the Nazim of Bengal.

News of foreign countries was a regular feature. Russia and the Russian danger had the place of honour. Java and Syria, appear in the news; an interesting item is the news of the capture of Prome. News of Indian States such as Hyderabad, Arcot, Indore formed the major part of these issues. The visit of Siraj-ul-mulk¹ and the expected visit of the ruler of Hyderabad to Calcutta and its purpose excited much speculation regarding financial arrangements.

Sir Henry Lawrence's appointment as the President of the Board of Control at Lahore is mentioned. The death of the Nawab of Bhawalpur is reported with a brief sketch of his career. Much information regarding the Afghan, Burmese and the Sikh wars can be gleaned from this paper.

Another peculiarity of this news-paper was that it cited news items from the Telegraph Courier, The Friend of India, The Bombay Gazette and the Lahore Chronicle.

The language used was archaic and full of Madras idioms. Many English words were frequently used.

Fawa'id-un-nazirin. ✓

It was published fortnightly on Mondays from Delhi. Its monthly subscription was annas four, the subscribers had to pay a little extra for postage. Its page (11'6"x6'9") was divided into two columns. It was published by Ramchandrar Rao and Saiyid Ashraf Ali Wasiti and printed in the Matba-ul-ulum, Delhi. The title page of each issue bears a drawing of two hands holding a leaf.

Vol. 7 possessed eight pages, others six pages, and the price used to vary according to the number of pages. The issues of 1847 were published from Muhammad Baqir's house and printed in a press belonging to one Pandit Motilal.

Dr. Zore owns the following volumes :—

Vol. 7. Issues number 1 to number 19. No. 1 was dated the 8th January, 1854. No. 19 was dated the 14th December, 1854.

(1) Siraj-ul-mulk, the grandson of Mir Alam, was the prime minister of Nawab Nasir-ud-douleh from 1848 to 1849 and from 1851 to 1852. His resignation in 1849 caused a good deal of chaos in Hyderabad. A detailed account of it appears in several issues of this news-paper.

Vol. 8. It had 48 issues. No. 1 was dated the 3rd March, 1845. No. 48 was dated the 11th January, 1847. Each of its issues had four pages.

It contained the usual foreign and Indian news. The first issue in a year contains an editorial review of the preceeding year. To cite one instance, the issue of January 1852 started with recounting the events of world-importance in 1851. The main interesting facts reviewed are the activities and death of Mulraj; an earthquake in Constantinople and the construction of a railway line about forty miles long starting from Calcutta. The note on Mulraj gives a detailed history of the siege of Multan, Mulraj's capture, his transportation to Calcutta, his illness and his death on board the ship on the return journey. The account of the havoc caused by the earthquake in Constantinople mentions a death-roll of 182 including Greeks and Turks; the number of the injured rescued from the debris is also given.

One of its correspondents gives a description of his journey from Calcutta to Karachi via Lucknow. This contains informations on the state of affairs in Oudh. The despicable condition of Wajid Ali Shah and his prime minister, sunk deep into luxury, their character and misdeeds are mentioned. He also gives a glimpse of the social and economic life of that city. His visits to other districts result in an account of their population, the rainfall, crops, markets and prices of grains, cost of travelling and the distances covered. Another correspondent gives a description of the various buildings, monuments, colleges and the observatory at Calcutta which he visited.

These volumes are illustrated with charts, diagrams, pictures and maps; many of them are copied from the London Weekly Times. The pages are numbered in serial order in accordance with the volume.

Qiran-us-sadain.

The following volumes are owned by Dr. Zore :—

Vol. 2. Issues number 32 to number 52. No. 32 was dated 9th August 1847, while No. 52 bore the date 27th December, 1847.

Vol. 4. Issues number 3 to number 53. No. 3 was dated 1st January, 1849, while No. 53 bore the date 31st December, 1849.

Vol. 7. Issues number 1 to number 52. No. 1 was dated 8th January, 1852; while the last issue bore the date 28th December 1852.

Vol. 8. Issues number 1 to number 52. No. 1 was dated 4th January, 1853, and No. 52 bore the date 22nd December, 1853.

Qiran-us-sadain, Vol. 4, has three pages giving a table of contents its pages are not divided into columns in some of its earlier issues but issues beginning with No. 33 have columns. Its print was rather shabby. These issues were published by Pandit Dharam Narayan² in

2. Pandit Dharam Narayan later on became the publisher of the Akhbar-i-Malwa.

the Matba-ul-ulum, Delhi. The other volumes of 1849, 1852, 1853 possess floral decorations of various types on the title pages and each issue had 12 pages (11'4" x 7"). Some of the issues of 1847 possessed 8 pages and some had light blue coloured pages.

The issues of 1853 were published by Kareem Bakhsh and printed in the Matba-ul-ulum near the Kashmiri Gate. It also gave the Calligraphist's name, Ganga Parshad. The calligraphy was excellent, and the printing good. It was published every Monday.

These volumes contained a good deal of Delhi news; the Mughal Emperor's activities and the darbars held by him were given date by date. The poems of the Emperor occasionally graced the paper. Celebrations of the Emperor's recovery after a short illness held from 10th July to 18th July, 1853, finds a mention.

An interesting item is a detailed account of the trial of Mulraj, held on the morning of 31st May, 1849. Another interesting item of news deals with the battle of Gujrat. The death of Lord Auckland and Ellenborough is mentioned. A short career sketch of each is given by the editor, praising their character and mentioning various activities associated with their names. The events of the Sikh wars are given in detail, with the plans of the battlefields.

Advertisements, lists of subscribers, books published and their reviews appear in them. The editor quotes the book *Kitab-i-Ajaib-i-Rozgar* in extenso. Its issues were copiously illustrated and beautifully printed. It also contained translation of articles of scientific and academic interest. The paper followed a pro-Government policy and championed the cause of the younger generation. In most issues the news overran the margins.

The Delhi Urdu Akhbar.

It was of a very large size, the pages being 13'2" x 9'6". It was published every Sunday by Muhammad Husain. Its subscription was Rs. 2, Rs. 10 and Rs. 20, for a month, six months or a year.

This paper was well edited and maintained a high standard of impartial criticism. Its language was pre-Mutiny Urdu.

This paper also published a weekly bulletin from the fort giving news about the Emperor's health, engagements, darbars, etc. It contained a Ghazal by the Emperor almost in every issue. The death of the poet-laureate Ibrahim Khan Zang, the Emperor's instructor in poetry, was announced in the issue of 15th November, 1850, which contained a special black-bordered supplement, containing elegies by the Emperor and others. It also gave a detailed account of the career of the poet right up to his death. Another item of news is the petition signed by the royal princes requesting the Emperor's pardon for Mirza Javan Bakht and the restoration of their pensions. The recognition of Mirza Muhammad Sultan

as the heir-apparent to the Emperor in succession of Mirza Jawan Bakht was announced on 24th September, 1852.

I need not go into the details of contents of this excellent paper, whose columns contained poems by the Emperor and royal princes, as well as by Ghazis.

The news of the arrival of Maharaja Daloo Singh with Dr. Logan in Malta is announced. A detailed account of the activities of Dost Mohammad Khan and his son appear in its issues. An account of the siege of Sebastopol and its expected surrender as forecasted by Sir John Burgin is mentioned.

News of social interest was given a good deal of prominence: steps taken to combat the evil practice of infanticide were discussed in editorials; the work of the Relief Committees appointed in the famine-stricken districts is given in detail; the dangers of small-pox explained by the Government were given full publicity. The number of persons vaccinated and treated in various hospitals finds a mention. A table of postal charges, appears in it occasionally.

The reorganisation of the educational department and other items of educational interest such as prize-distributions, appointments, resignations of principals, syllabus and curriculum etc., are occasionally mentioned.

An account of the declaration of dividends of profit of some newspapers, and criticism of one another also appear in its issues.

The foreign news announce the death of Sir Robert Peel and give an account of the Irish struggle. Other items of foreign news, too innumerable to be mentioned, appear in its issues.

This paper quoted items of news from the Akhbar-i-Nur-i-Mashriqi, Sub-han-ul-akhbar, the Observer from Poona, and various other newspapers. Advertisements of the Nur-i-Maghribi, the Lahore Chronicle and Gazettees appear in its issues.

Dr. Zoro has the following Volumes :—

Vol. 13. Contains issues number 1 to number 52. No. 1 was dated the 5th January, 1852. No. 52 was dated the 28th December, 1852. Each issue is of four pages with Hijri dates as well.

Vol. 14. 54 issues (No. 1 to No. 54).

Vol. 16. Contains 53 issues. (No. 1 to No. 53). Some of its issues had six pages.

I would strongly request the Indian Historical Records Commission to put into practice as early as possible Dr. I. H. Qureshi's suggestion regarding the preservation of old newspapers.

A Human Sacrifice in 1752.

[By Mr. C. V. Joshi, M. A.]

There is among the archives of the Baroda State a *Sabhapatra* (proceedings of a meeting) in Marathi, signed by Introductory. Gaikwad Damaji II, Patil, members of the Gadgepatil family, the farmers, Deshmukh, Deshpande, chaugale and mahars of the village of Davdi, in Poona District. This village is under the patilship of the Baroda Gaikwad since 1728.

2. The *sabhapatra* contains the graphic and pathetic account of a mang's sacrifice, which may be summarised as follows:
 Building work at Davdi. Damajirao Gaikwad was engaged in fortifying the village but a burnj at the south wall refused to stand in spite of repeated attempts. It was thought necessary to propitiate the evil spirits by sacrificing a human couple at the site. Damajirao asked Kaloo, a mang (Skt. matanga, name of an outcast community), if he would offer his son and daughter-in-law in the service of the Sarkar. Kaloo replied that he would more gladly offer himself and his wife as victim if a gift of seven privileges was made to his family.

3. The seven privileges demanded are as follows:

- The seven Demands: (1) In our home, the bridegroom should ride a horse during a marriage procession;
- (2) The mangs should get the right, then enjoyed by the mahars (dheds) to dress the naubats (drums) with leather;
- (3) The mangs should have the right to use the skins of the dead bodies of their own cattles;
- (4) The mangs should get the food offered to goddess Mari (cholera deity);
- (5) Five mangs should be appointed as guards to watch the Gaikwad's gadi at Davdi;
- (6) Naivedya (a food) on all holidays should be offered at Kaloo's burial-place to be enjoyed by his descendants;
- (7) The Sarkar should protect the mang bridegroom riding a horse against the possible attacks by the mahars (dheds).

4. A *mahajar* consisting of seven articles mentioning these privileges was drawn up, signed by persons mentioned above and was handed over to Kaloo. The ceremony of Bali (sacrifice). The *sabhapatra* then describes the pathetic meeting of the parents and the son. The son offered himself in his father's place and had to be dissuaded from his noble proposal. Kaloo's daughter Gangai being at her father-in-law's place, an invitation was sent to her to meet her

parents before their voluntary death. The couple was given a holy bath. The man was dressed in black and the wife in green. Vermilion was besmeared on the forehead of the dishvelled lady. Both were carried in procession to the buruj. All assembled took oaths binding themselves and their progeny to observe the seven boons given to Kaloo. At the auspicious moment, the bricklayer was ordered by Damaji to lay bricks. The hesitant artisan was assured by his victim that he was not to blame for his death. Bricks were laid amidst a burst of shouts and music and the heroic couple was buried alive. Chandu, the son of the mang, was consoled. Gangai, his sister, came fifteen days later and was honoured with suitable presents. The work of construction was successfully carried out after this act of sacrifice.

5. The account of the *sabhapatra* which was written on 7th May, 1752, ends here with signatures. The contents of the document are corroborated by three others whose old copies are entered in the Record Room. One is an order from the Peshwa dated 27-2-1761, confirming the action of Damaji and the privileges granted to Kaloo's descendants. The second is an exhortation without date from Damaji to his descendants to keep the word given by him and the third is an application from the mangs of Davdi complaining against the mahars' interference with the privileges to the officers of the Company's Government with endorsement dated 26-5-1749.

6. This *sabhapatra* gives us a glimpse of some of the superstitions and customs of the Maharashtra of the 18th century. It shows how the depressed classes were among themselves divided and jealous of one another but individual members could show courage and broadmindedness when a public cause required their services. Kaloo's first unselfish demand shows how the mangs must have been smarting under the disqualification of their community to ride a horse. The dying man's demands are for the whole community and none of them is for his family.

Tipoo's Army in 1793 A.D.

[By Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D. Lit. (Lond.)]

*Memorandum of Tippoo's Military Force, etc.,
December 1793*.*

SOME EXTRACTS FROM

BRITISH MUSEUM ADDITIONAL MANUSCRIPTS, No. 13659, P. 79-85.

At the commencement of the war which broke out in 1790 Tippoo's force was estimated at 45,000 regular infantry and about 20,000 horse exclusive of irregular peons which are called cundaachar.

*With acknowledgements to Dr. M. H. Gopal, M.A., Ph. D., Asstt. Professor, Mysore University.

The army at present consists of about 30,000 regular infantry, 7,000 regular cavalry, 2,000 artillery, 6,000 irregular horse, 36,000 cundachar and 5,300 revenue peons.

It is only places of importance that are garrisoned by regular infantry—the greatest part of his garrisons is composed of peons who being badly armed and ill appointed have seldom been known to make much resistance when attacked. They may be considered as stationery armed farmers, and it is almost impossible to draw any considerable body of them into the field as they cannot be prevailed upon to quit their habitations,—they have land allotted them in lieu of pay. Their number cannot easily be ascertained but it is said there are 1000 peons in Tippoo's pay for every lac of pagodas of revenue, which being estimated at 36 lacs it may be supposed there are 36,000 peons of this description.

The revenue peons which are distinct from the candachar or fighting peons may be reckoned to amount to 5300 at the rate of 150 for every lac of pagodas of revenue.

About one-half or rather more of the regular infantry and cavalry are always with Tippoo—the rest are disposed of among the chief frontier stations such as Bednore, Chittledroog, Goormcondah etc.

Excepting the late Scindhia, Tippoo is the only Indian prince who has aimed at introducing regularity of discipline among his troops. His infantry are armed with muskets made in his own country of the French model and dimensions, but although there are many English and French arms in his possession he gives the preference to things manufactured in his own country, though they are certainly not so good. His field guns are generally cast in his own country after French models, and being larger than those of the English have a greater effect in action as they throw shot a much greater distance which in all cannonades has given him and his father a considerable advantage. His infantry are disciplined after the European manner and are very superior to those of other Indian powers. They are disciplined and manoeuvred by Persian words of command.

Establishment of a Corps of Infantry.

A JONG OR COMPANY.

STAFF:

1	Jongdar	or	Captain
2	Surkheils	or	Subalterns
9	Jemautdars	or	Non-commissioned officers
72	Privates		
1	Washerman		
1	Barber		

1 Waterman

5 Nussooms or camp-followers.

Four Rissalas make one Cūshoon or Brigade.

STAFF: Pay of each per month of 40 days in Pondicherry or Sultanny Russas

1	Sipahdar (Brigadier)	—	100	100
4	Rissaldars (Commandants of Battalions)	— each	20	80
16	Jongdars (Captains of companies)	"	12	192
32	Serkheels (Subalterns)	—	10	320
144	Jemautdars (Non-commissioned)	"	9	1296
1152	Privates	"	7	8064
16	Washermen	...	7	112
16	Barbers	"	7	112
80	Nussooms (Tent-pitchers)	"	6	480
8	Drums	...	12	96
8	Fifes	"	12	96
4	Shaksees (adjutants)	"	28	112
1	Ser-Shaksee (Brigadier-Major)	"	40	40
				<hr/> 10600

Besides the foregoing details some cushoons have a fifth rissala of pudal askeer or dismounted horsemen attached to them, for the purpose of supplying his regular cavalry with disciplined and experienced men. One rissala in each cushoon is of selected men and is called Awal (or first) rissala, and on every service leads the cushoon.

There are five cutcherries of infantry which contain about 22 cushoons and each cushoon may be reckoned on an average 1000 men.—The rest of his regular infantry are independent rissalas which including chelas (or circumcised slaves) may be estimated at 8000.

The regular cavalry are formed into corps as the infantry are, jongs or troops, rissalas or regiments and makums or brigades and in the same manner the makums into cutcherries. The regular cavalry are armed with carbines and swords and the horse are all the property of Government and are fed at its expense.

The irregular horse are not formed into corps and each officer commanding a party makes such arrangements as he thinks proper. There are two descriptions of irregular horse—one when the commanding officer contracts for furnishing the horse and rider for about 7/8 of a rupee per day—the other when the horse is the property of Government and he receives ½ rupee per day for the rider's pay and feeding the horse. The discipline of Tippoo's troops may in a great measure be attributed to the desertion from the Nabob of Arcot and the numbers of the Company's Native Troops who had been taken prisoners in the war of 1780 having either entertained in Tippoo's service or having been withheld by him.

The troops in Tippoo's service are better armed, better appointed, better disciplined and more used to war than those of the neighbouring Indian powers.

The army is regular and a standing one; he has the entire patronage of it, and being constantly with it in peace as well as in war, his presence creates a spirit of emulation which does not exist in the Mahratta or Nizam's army, each of which being formed on a feudal system, the chiefs furnishing certain quotas of troops in lieu of rent, all subordination is destroyed and such chiefs by possessing a hereditary property are not interested in the prosperity of the state, no more than to preserve their immediate possessions; for which reason they are ready to join any party which may promise the acquisition of new property when any were dissatisfied with the Government.

Besides the pay, the undermentioned gratuity is allowed:

To Rissaldars	— 1	Kanthirai fanam	for every man in the Rissala
" Jongdars	— $\frac{1}{2}$	" "	in the Jong
" Serkheels	— $\frac{1}{2}$	" "	" " Division
" Jemautdars	— $\frac{1}{2}$	" "	" " Guard
" Watermen	— $\frac{1}{2}$	" "	" " Jong

If a sepoy deserts who had received money in advance the Jongdar or Captain of his company is put under stoppages for such advances. In like manner the Jongdar is held responsible for the price of arms whether lost by desertion or carelessness.

Sipahdars are allowed perquisites arising from the payment of their pay and emoluments amount to at least 200 rupees per month. Although 1296 non-commissioned and privates are the established strength of a cushoon of 4 rissalas, some cushoons are above the complement, and the majority are under it. The next greatest division to a cushoon is a cutcherie which consists of five or six cushoons each, but sometimes a fewer number.

The undermentioned calculation may help to form some idea of Tippoo's revenue and the disbursement of it, although I do not venture to advance it as being correct. By the schedule given through his accountants at Seringapatam in March 1792, the countries now in his possession were valued at 36 lakhs of kanterai pagodas or about 30 lakhs of star pagodas; which from the information we gained while in possession of a great part of the country relinquished to him, and from persons employed under him making an allowance for peculation, mismanagement and the payment of the irregular peons is at least six lakhs of pagodas below the actual nett revenue.

It may with great safety be affirmed that his revenue is between 35 and 40 lakhs of star pagodas, and if well managed should be much more.

Let us suppose he has: —

	Rs.
Regular infantry 30000 and that their annual expense, reckoning each man to cost 120 rupees yearly including the pay and endowments of all officers attached to them is.	36,00,000
Regular cavalry 7000 at 300 each yearly allowing for officers pay, feeding and purchasing or rearing each horse.	21,00,000
Irregular cavalry 6000 at an average of 260 rupees each including all expenses.	15,60,000
Artillery men attached to the infantry 20000 at 130 rupees each.	26,000
For repairs of forts, making up stores and pay of artificers and camp-lascars.	10,50,000
carried over ...	83,36,000
Supposed surplus for his civil establishment, private expenses and other charges not included above ...	42,64,000
	1,26,00,000
At Rs. 3½ per star pagoda or pagodas ...	36,00,000

A. Unique Dedicatory Deed of A.D. 1750.

[By Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval, B.A.]

Modern Travancore can, in one sense, be said to be the creation of Maharaja Martanda Varma the Great (904 to 933 M.E., i.e., A.D. 1729-1758), who was the founder of the State and of its many progressive institutions. At the time of his accession to the throne, South India was in the vortex of a great revolution, which was both political and economic in its character. The European nations who had founded factories on its coast saw that it was possible for them to build political power and establish their dominance, and also to use effectively their naval power and disciplined army consisting of Indian Sepoys whom they trained. The Nayak rule in Madura was showing signs of rapid decay on account of internal corruption and feudal lawlessness, and above all, of the pressure of Muslims from the North. The restless Poligars of Tinnevely and Madura were in possession of formidable bodies of freebooters, who were a perpetual menace to the safety of the Travancore state on its eastern and southern frontier. In Mysore the Hindu Mayors of the Palace were soon to be overwhelmed by Hyder Ali Khan, the Mussulman adventurer. In the North, the Zamorin of Calicut, and the ruler of Cochin were alike declining having been weakened, and in no way benefited, by the aggressions of the Portuguese and the Dutch in their territories. The subha of the Carnatic, which claimed a vague overlordship of the South country, as far as Cape Comorin, could not effectively assert its power, except through the English, whose captains like Cope and sepoy commanders like Yusuf Khan were not fully alive to, and

could not rise up to the needs of the situation. In Malabar and the West Coast, the feudal force had to be trained and disciplined, or else broken to pieces. Travancore was then split up into a number of small principalities, which were annexed by conquest, one by one, by the Maharaja, who gradually extended the limits of his kingdom to the frontiers of Cochin. A well-disciplined and efficient body of trained State troops, was found by the Maharaja to be the best weapon for breaking up at once the lawlessness and centrifugal feudalism of the land, and at the same time, for building up a well-organised and centralised monarchy, which he took care should be entirely indigenous, national and orthodox in character. His long career of unbroken victory and steady consolidation is chronicled in the Travancore State Mannual. But one of his most potent instruments for making his rule impersonal, and at the same time *quasi-theocratic* in character, was his dedication of the entire state and its appurtenances to Sri Padmanabha, the tutelary Deity of his family. The thoughtful Maharaja determined upon this unique step for the better safety of his kingdom, the consolidation of his newly acquired dominions, and above all, for internal security and peace in the land.

"Accordingly on the morning of the 5th Makaram, 925 M.E., (January, 1750 A.D.) the Maharaja with all the members of the Royal family and his minister proceeded to the Sri Padmanabhaswami Temple, where all the priests and yogakkars had also been summoned. At the auspicious hour, His Highness laid his State sword in front of the deity on the Orrakkal Mandapam, made over the whole territory to the God, and declared himself to be the vassal or agent of the Deity, in virtue of which he assumed the title of Sri Padmanabha Dasa, a title borne by the sovereigns of Travancore to this day".*

The people of Travancore have ever after regarded the country as the possession of Sri Padmanabha, and the person of the sovereign as His representative to them on earth. The foundation of all good Government was largely strengthened, as history teaches us, by superadding to it a theocratic conception of the king which can be utilised in strengthening the bond of obedience of the people; and His Highness made it scared in the eyes of his people by performing the Great Dedication, known as Tryppatidanam. After this, the name of each taluk was changed into Mandapatthum vatukkal, literally the door-way of the God's mandapam. Thus, the kindom of Travancore became Sri Pandaravakai and the State servants Sri Pandarakaryam ceyvarkal.

After the Tryppatidanam, the Maharaja assumed the title of Sri Padmanabhadasa Vanci Bala Martanda Varma Kulasekhara Perumal. The prefix "Bala" in 'Bala Martanda Varma', is a hereditary title manifesting submission to God Sri Padmanabha. There is a Sanskrit drama "Bala Martanda Vijayam" by Devarajukavi, a contemporary of the king (No. C. VIII in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series), the theme of which is this unique dedication which is described as follows:—

* *Travancore State Manual*, Vol. I page 362. (V. Nagamaiya).

(Bala Martanda Vijayam. pp. 84 and 85.)

The late V.P. Madhava Rao, who was Dewan of the State for some years says "Those who are familiar with the history of the State know and realise the full import and significance of the Great Act of State Policy adopted in the middle of the 18th Century by the illustrious Raja Martanda Varma of immortal fame, by which the Sovereign, after subjugating the principalities and chieftainships and consolidating them into a compact kingdom as you find it to-day, dedicated the whole State to the presiding Deity. The character thus stamped on the constitution of the State has never been lost sight of by his successors on the throne of Travancore, and they have striven to discharge the sacred trust handed down to them with unswerving loyalty."

The text of the declaration in connection with the dedication found in the Palm leaf documents of the Sri Padmanabhaswami Temple, Trivandrum, is as follows:—

Sriramajayam.

Vrscikassaniminavyalam cenna kollam tollayiratti irupattayyamantu makaramasam ancamatiyati budhanalcayun purvapaksattu saptamiyum revatiyum inualalelutiya sarvasvarppana olakkaranamavitu. Sri bhandarakkaryam ceyvarkalaya Balamartanda varmaraya Trppappur muppinnu tannalkkolla Tovalakkottakku padinnaru kavanarrinu kilakkulla rajyattinakattulla nalatuyare namukku avakasamayittu anubhaviccuvarunna vastukrtyankalum sthanamanannalum marum epperppettatum Perumal Padmanabhapporumal Sri Bhandarattunkalekku sarvasvarppanamaka acandrarkkameelutikkotuttar Sri Bhandarakkaryam ceyvarkalaya Balamartanda varmaraya Trppappur muppinnum. Immarkkame sarvasvarppana ola kailelutiya Meleluttu kanakku sankara kumaru mattandan elutta.

"We Bala Martanda Varma, the senior member of Trppapur and Sri Pandarakkaryam ceyvarkal, have this day transferred by absolute gift and dedication, to endure as long as the sun and moon shall last, all the lands and functions appertaining thereto together with all rights and dignities and all other possessions that we have been hitherto enjoying as of right within the territories between the Tovala Fort in the east and the Kavanar river in the west, in favour of Perumal Sri Padmanabha Perumal. In token whereof we have this day executed this deed of absolute gift and dedication."

This a unique act in the history of India and is the first of its kind by which a hindu king has dedicated his whole state and its appurtenances to God and ruled as His vassal and agent. The text of this dedicatory deed, though noticed in a few official publications, is not available to the public. It is recorded on palm leaf and is one of the most precious cadjan documents in the archives of the Sri Padmanabhaswami Temple, Trivandrum. The language of the deed is Malayalam.

Some new facts about Ramayyan Dalava, the warrior-statesman of Travancore.

[By Rao Sahib Mahakavi Sahityabhushana Ullur S. Parameswara
Aiyar, M.A., B.L.]

In the illustrious roll-call of the Prime Ministers of Travancore, no name stands higher than that of Ramayyan Dalava, the trusted lieutenant of Maharaja Martanda Varma the Great, who ruled over the State from 1729 to 1748 A.D. This was a period crowned with mighty achievements, and in almost every one of them, Ramayyan was the never-failing counsellor and co-adjutor of his sovereign-master. Holding at first the comparatively insignificant appointment of *Sampruti* or head-clerk of the Palace, he was elevated in 1736 to the onerous post of Dalava, and he held that exalted office, in which were combined the functions of premier and commander-in-chief, with matchless credit to himself and manifold advantage to the State. Extending over nineteen years, his was by far the longest period of premiership in the history of Travancore. It is impossible, in this brief paper, to recount his many-sided victories in the realms of war and peace. They are so well-known to every reader of the annals of this country. Suffice it to quote the eloquent tribute paid by Visakhram Tirunal Sir Rama Varma, the penultimate Maharaja to his greatness as a soldier and statesman. That Maharaja has recorded: "He, (Martanda Varma) was served by one of the ablest of ministers. Sully did not serve Henry IV of France more nobly and faithfully than Ramayyan did Martanda Varma..... Ramayyan was unrelenting, unsparing and often unscrupulous to his master's enemies; but his self was merged completely in that of his master. He was as fearless in the council-room as he was in the battle field. With such a minister as his right hand, and with a strong will, abiding patience and indomitable courage, the Raja not only won back what his predecessors has lost, but subjugated, one after another the neighbouring chiefs who were a perpetual source of trouble".*

This paper is contributed with the specific object of pointing out that some of the events concerning the early life of Ramayyan, recorded by historians, are not correct, and that certain new facts in that connection have recently come to light mainly as the result of the painstaking research of Mr. T. K. Subrahmanya Ayyar of the Travancore Archaeological Department.

Ramayyan was Tamil Smarta brahmin of the Sanketi sect. He was a follower of the Kausikagotra and Apastambasutra. The original home of his family was Irukanti, a small hamlet near Rajamannarkovil, on the banks of the Tamravarni river in the Tirunelveli District. The following genealogical table of that family will be found interesting.

Rajagopalapandita

Anantaramasrauti

Rajagopalabhatta

Suryanarayanabhatta

Krshnabhatta =
(m) Rukmini Ammal

Sankarabhatta

Kulatturan Ramayyan Gopalayyan Yagnarayanayyan Avitai Ammal

Suryanarayanabhatta was a court-pandit of Travancore. Rajagopalabhatta migrated to Ervati, a village three miles to the north of Valliyur, which was then part of Travancore. Here, Ramayyan was born in c. 1713. Sankarabhatta lived with his father-in-law at Aruvikkara, near Tiruvattar, and Krshnabhatta with his whole family moved to that place and settled down there, when Valliyur and the adjoining villages were devastated by floods in 1722. It is the fashion to speak of Ramayyan as a destitute orphan in his early days; this is wrong. There are records to prove that Krshnabhatta had purchased landed properties in south Travancore even so early in 1718. Ramayyan was introduced to Maharaja Rama Varma, the maternal uncle and predecessor of Martanda Varma, by the father-in-law of Sankarabhatta who was one of his court-pandits, and that Maharaja, pleased with his precocious intelligence, gifted a house at Padmanabhapuram in his favour on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in 1726. Martanda Varma settled other properties on him in 1734. This great minister renovated the temple of Aruvikkara in 1745. Ramayyan died at the comparatively young age of 43 at Mavelikkara on the Suklaccaturdasi day in the month of Dhanu, 931 M. E. (1755-56). The room in which he breathed his last is still preserved intact, and until recently the ladies of the leading Kshatriya family of Mavelikkara used to occupy it for delivery in the firm belief that the minister was their guardian angel.

Gopalayyan, the younger brother of Ramayyan, also worked his way up to the post of Dalava and held it from 1768-1776.

In *Catakasandesha*, a Sanskrit poem, written about 1785, the mountain-like fort built by Ramayyan at Quilon, after subduing the enemies of his master, is described as the very incarnation of his valour*.

*“प्रख्यातस्य प्रमत्तपतेः प्रत्यनीकं विहन्तुम्

प्रोद्युक्तस्य स्वयंमपि चिरं या भवज्जन्यभूमिः

प्राप्तस्यापि त्रिदशानिलयं विक्रमशैलमूल्या

यत्राद्यापि प्रतिवर्तति तन्मन्त्रिणो रामनाम्नः”

Four records relating to Tipu Sultan's invasion of Travancore.

[By Mr. P. N. Kunjan Pillai, M.A., (Eng.), M.A. (Sans.), M.A. (Mal.)]

In this paper short notice will be taken of four unpublished records relating to the War between Travancore and Tipu Sultan, which gave rise to what is known in Indian History as the Third Mysore War. For a period of over sixty years from the commencement of the reign of Maharaja Marthanda Varma down to about the close of the reign of his illustrious successor, Travancore had been engaged in bloody Warfare to expand her territories, to consolidate her conquests and preserve herself against external aggressions; but never was she called upon to face a more formidable enemy than Tipu Sultan, the son and successor of Hyder Ali Khan of Mysore. Hyder had an ambitious plan of bringing the whole of the Malabar Coast under him, but the Travancore lines (a line of fortifications on the northern frontier of the State which extended from the Arabian sea to the mountain on the east) were too strong for him to break through. In Tipu's programme of a consolidated power in South India, the conquest of Travancore occupied a prominent place both because of the premier position which this State held in the West Coast and because of its strategic importance in rounding off his dominions and in serving as a base of operation against the English in the Carnatic.

Tipu was waiting for a pretext to invade Travancore, whose king was prominently mentioned as an ally of the honourable English East India Company in the Treaty of Mangalore, 1784. In 1787, he invaded Malabar, when the Zamorin of Calicut and many thousands of people fled to Travancore. Tipu wanted that those refugees should be surrendered, but the Maharaja of Travancore refused to comply with that demand. Upon this Tipu instigated the Cochin Raja, who was his vassal, to lay claim to certain portions of Travancore territory which were ceded to this State by Cochin. But the Raja of Cochin expressed his unwillingness to adopt this course, as the places in question were ceded for due military assistance received from Travancore.

The Sultan thereon tried to effect a treaty with this State which was politely objected to by the Maharaja on the ground that he could not enter into any agreement without the consent of his allies, the Nawab of Arcot and the English East India Company. Meanwhile Travancore purchased the two Dutch forts of Ayakotta and Cranganore, situated on the northern frontier, from the Dutch Company, as a measure of precaution against any probable invasion from that quarter. Tipu contended that Travancore was not right in having purchased them as they were situated in the territory of his vassal, the Raja of Cochin. The Madras Government countenanced Tipu's claim, against their first orders and contrary to the representation made by Travancore that the Dutch Company had absolute right over the forts as they were in their possession

for over a century and a quarter. It was the timely interference of Lord Cornwallis that saved Travancore from the embarrassing position to which she was driven as a result of the unreasonable attitude of the Madras Government.

These plans having failed, Tipu made large preparations for invading Travancore, and Travancore also, alive to the great danger, prepared to meet the enemy. Maharaja Kartika Tirunal and his trusted minister Kesava Pillai did everything to ward off the impending peril. The northern fortifications, known as the Travancore lines, were repaired, and large numbers of garrisons were stationed along the frontier. In December, 1789, Tipu marched with 14,000 infantry and 500 pioneers and was able to take possession of a large extent of rampart on the Travancore lines. The Travancore soldiers stationed in watch-towers retreated before the advancing Mysore army until at last a small party of Travancoreans, numbering but twenty, took their stand in a small square enclosure on the rampart and opened a brisk fire on the vanguard of Tipu's army, throwing them into utter confusion. The Commanding Officer was killed as also thousands of soldiers, and the Sultan himself was saved with great difficulty. An interesting account of the disaster which befell the Mysore force may be seen in the following extract from Wilks' History of Mysore.

"The relieving corps awkwardly advancing along the same flank was met and checked by an impetuous mass of fugitives; the next corps caught the infection, the panic became general and the confusion irretrievable. The Sultan himself was borne away in the crowd; the rear now became the front, rushed into the intended road across the ditch, which had been no farther prepared than by cutting down the underwood and throwing a part of the rampart on the berm; the foremost leaped or were forced into the ditch; and such was the pressure of the succeeding mass that there was no alternative but to follow. The undermost, of course, were trampled to death; and in a short time the bodies by which the ditch was nearly filled, enable the remainder to pass over. The Sultan was precipitated with the rest, and was only saved by exertions of some steady and active *chelas* who raised him on their shoulders, and enabled him to ascend the counterscarp, after having twice fallen back in the attempt to clamber up; and the lameness, which occasionally continued until his death was occasioned by the severe contusions he received on this occasion."

The Travancore army was able to take as trophies the Sultan's palanquin, his seal, signet ring and sword. Tipu's prestige was so greatly wounded by this discomfiture that he swore to raze the contemptible wall which protected the State. About three months after the incident Tipu therefore again commenced hostilities. For about a month the Travancore lines resisted the artillery fire of Tipu's army. The Mysoreans were at last able to effect a breach in the wall and enter Travancore territory. The two battalions of the English East India Company, garrisoned in the frontier, remained passive spectators; and the Travancore soldiers gave up resistance as useless. The Mysore army laid waste the northern taluks of Travancore, mercilessly slaughtering all those who refused to embrace

Islam. They plundered and destroyed whatever they could lay their hands on. The Mysoreans remained there for a month engaging themselves in looting and rapine. Tipu then repaired to Trichur which he made his headquarters. From there he marched to Alwaye intending to cross the Periyar and proceed to Trivandrum, the capital of the State. The tactics of the Travancore army as well as their bravery were, however, able to prevent his further progress by inflicting a severe defeat on his army at Alwaye. He was thus obliged to go back and prepared for a final invasion of Travancore. But before he could materialise his plans, he heard of the preparations of the English Company to besiege his capital, and had suddenly to go away to defend the same. Before departing he, however, gratified his vanity by ordering the demolition of the Travancore lines, himself dealing the first stroke by a pick-axe. This brief account of the unsuccessful attempt of the Sultan of Mysore to reduce Travancore will serve to explain the records summarised below :—

Record No. I is an eratavu, a receipt, dated the 16th, Tai 965 M.E., corresponding to 1790 A.D. Herein is recorded the receipt of a flag and its staff taken as trophies in an engagement between Tipu's army and the forces of Travancore. The engagement took place on the 18th of Markali, 965 M.E. The trophy was taken to Trivandrum by Anaval Tanuvan Nilakantan and entrusted to Kanakku Raman Narayanan of Kulakkad House, the Pillai in charge of the Palapayasa Matam attached to the Sri Padmanabha Swamy Temple.

A transliteration of the record is given below :—

Kotiyum kotikkalum mutalkuttu vakaiku eratavu. 965-am antu Tai masam 16-am tiyati.

Vatakku vettiya kottakku veliyil Tipuvinnre palayam vannirannim mun Markali masam 18-am tiyati malai valikku Melur kottayil vannu keru pata tutannukayil tiyane vetti ceyiccu vannataka kalppiccu Anaval Tanuvan Nilakantan vasam kotuttayaccataka kunnimala pattil natuvilum currilum pacca vaiccu taiccirikkunna koti uru onnum ti kotiyil ulla kotikkampil panamkatiriyil muttilum talaikkalum irumpu kuntavum kilakkalum ulpate ti kotikkal uru onnum aka Palapayasa Matattil Kulakkattu vittil Kanakku Raman Narayanan vacam elpicca kal ulpeta koti uru onnu.

Record No. II is a nittu, royal writ, dated 17th Masi, 965, corresponding to 1791 A.D., addressed to the Sarvadhikaryakars of Tovala and Agastiswaram, and Valiya Meleluttu Pillai (the head of the Financial Department). It purports to the custody of five Europeans and three Indians (Jivanna Rao, Buttayyan and a Rajput), taken as prisoners of war from Tipu's camp. Kunciraymman Pillai, Valiya Yajamanan (Commander-in-Chief) was ordered to send them to the Padmanabhapuram fort in the custody of swordsmen. The nittu directed that the Europeans should be kept at the Udayagiri fort, and the Indians at the Padmanabhapuram fort. Details regarding the rations to be given to the prisoners are specified.

The beginning portion of the record is as follows :—

965-am antu Masi masam 17-am tivati.

Tippu sultance palayattil ninnum pitikittiyatil ancu vellakkarareyum Jivanna Rao ennu oralineyum Buttayyaneyum oru Rajaputraneyum Padmanabhapurattu kontuvannu, kavalil vaipudikkattakkavannam Kuncu Irayumman Pilla valiya yajamananu sadhanavum kotuttu valkarareyum kutti ayakkunnu.

Record No. III is a letter from the Raja of Cochin addressed to the Maharaja of Travancore in reply to a previous communication from Travancore. It mentions among other things the siege of Bangalore by Lord Cornwallis. The record shows that Dewan Kesava Pillai was at the time staying outside Travancore for military purposes.

.....Potippan elutivannatil Lord Cornwallisum palayavum Bangalore kottaikku nere cennu veti tutanniyirikkunna prakaram attire elutivannirikkunnu ennum Dewan Kesava Cempakarama Pilla ayittum kantu vartamanannal vicaricukuntu varattakavannam ivite ninnum ayaccirikunna alukal vannal ulla avastaikkum Vartamanattinum annu potippan elutikkotuttayakkanamennum.....

Record No. IV is a royal writ (Tiruveluttu) addressed to the Maniyakkaran (Revenue Officer) of Shencotta, dated 1-1-971 M.E., corresponding to 1796 A.D. It relates to certain arrangements made for the repayment of the debts incurred during the wars with Tipu Sultan in 964 M.E. It is stated that an amount of twenty five lakhs of rupees was paid by Travancore to the British Government to meet the expenses of the expedition from Madras to Mysore. Large sums of money were also spent for mobilising an army in Travancore to meet the Mysore invasion. The expenses were mainly defrayed by raising loans from bankers and merchants. Part of the loans was repaid by the reserve fund in the Padmanabhapuram Palace and the amount raised by Rupavari, a special tax imposed on the wet and garden lands of the State. The record closes with a direction to the Officer concerned that the amount of Rs. 43,904 due from Shencotta on account of the special tax imposed on land should be collected before the 30th Vrischikam, 971 M.E. and remitted to the bankers according to direction.

.....Inkires kompanyia (English Company) ranukkal cennapattanattu (Madras) ninnum kilakkan valikku Suluttanre rajyattu piappettunnatinu kompanji Palayattu cilavu vakaikku 25 laksham rupai kotutta vakaikkum.....

Maharaja Mansingh of Jodhpur and Maharaja Suratsingh of Bikaner.

[By Mahamahopadhaya Bisheshwar Nath Reu, Sahityachariya]

In this paper we are giving the English translation of a bond¹ signed by Maharaja Suratsingh of Bikaner to pay rupees

1. Though we wanted to reproduce a photograph of the document, yet we could not succeed.

four lacs and one" as indemnity, to Maharaja Mansingh of Jodhpur.

It may also help to give an idea of the system of hostage and surety prevalent among the Indian rulers. But before doing so it seems necessary to give the events in brief, which compelled the Maharaja of Bikaner to sign it.

In 1804 A. D. there arose a dispute in Marwar between Maharaja Mansingh and Thakur Savaisingh of Pokaran, his feudatory, regarding Dhonkalsingh, an alleged posthumous son of the late Maharaja Bhimsingh of Jodhpur.

The relations of the rulers of Jodhpur and Jaipur at that time were strained in connection with the betrothal of Krishna Kunwari, the daughter of Maharana Bhimsingh of Udaipur. Thakur Savaisingh took advantage of the situation and in 1807 A. D. succeeded in persuading Maharaja Jagatsingh of Jaipur to invade Jodhpur. He also induced Maharaja Suratsingh of Bikaner to join the campaign. These combined forces attacked Jodhpur but the siege fizzled out due to the ingenuity of Singhi Indraraj and others, who with the help of some nobles and Amir Khan, planned an attack on Jaipur at the same time and thus diverted the attention of the Jaipur army.

When Maharaja Mansingh of Jodhpur regained his power and assassinated the hostile leaders with the help of Amir Khan the founder of the ruling dynasty of Tonk, he sent an army to invade Bikaner and avenge the wrong done to him by its ruler in joining hands with Jaipur. This compelled the Maharaja of Bikaner to sign the aforesaid bond.

TRANSLATION OF THE BOND.

This bond is written by Maharajadhiraj Shri Suratsinghji that an agreement has been reached to pay, to meet the expenses of his (expeditionary) forces, to the Jodhpur Darbar rupees four lacs and one (Rs. 4,00,001) out of which rupees forty thousand (Rs. 40,000) have been foregone and the balance remains rupees three lacs sixty thousand and one (Rs. 3,60,001)

Signed by Rathor Suratsingh, whatever written above is correct.
Signed by Acharaj (priest) Pursotam

By order of the Darbar, dated 5th day of the dark half of Mangsir, 1865 V. S. (8th November, 1808 A. D.)

Later details.

The details regarding the payment of instalments are as follows:—

Out of 5 persons including Surana Ramchand etc. given as

2. In Rajputana putting a cipher at the end of the numerical item is considered inauspicious.

hostage for Rs. 1,45,000, Derasri Acharaj Pursotam has given a written promise for the payment of rupees one lac and Shah Amarchand and Darbari Savairam for rupees forty five thousand on the 15th day of the bright half of Phagun.

The Hundis (Cheques) for Rs. 50,000 regarding the camp, were encashed through Memadshah and Hundis (Cheques) for Rs. 72,000 were encashed by Pancholi Jaskaran Darbari. Total 2,67,000.

Out of the balance of Rs. 93,001 received Rs. 84,945-9-6 (rupees eighty four thousand nine hundred forty five, annas nine and pies six) which have been remitted to the treasury.

Dispute over George Thomas' territory.

[By Sardar S. N. Banerjee, M.A.]

The fall of George Thomas raised the question of the division of his territorial possessions. His expulsion was the result of a combination of local powers with the Marathas; and naturally enough, the confederates in the attack claimed, under contract, a share in the lands which the surrender of the aggressor placed at their disposal. Jhind and Kaithal were easily satisfied. But on account of the extent of the area involved in the restoration, the claim of Patiala was not settled till almost half a century had elapsed.

The scope of this paper, however, is limited to the period from 1802 to 1804. During this period the Maharaja claimed and obtained the restoration of certain districts which, under the terms of the Wajib-ul-Arz (September 19, 1800), were to be given back to Patiala. It will be my object to examine the basis and validity of Patiala's claim and, in that connection, to bring to the notice of scholars some documents in the Patiala Records.

The Wajib-ul-Arz¹ contained seven articles. The fourth one ran thus: "All our possessions which are under the control of the opponent (G. Thomas) may be recovered and restored to us". Gen. Perron agreed to this and against the clause wrote: "They (Patiala, Jhind and Kaithal) may take over the possessions which were with them during the times of Najaf Quli Khan and Maharaja Alijah Bahadur".

Patiala, it appears, got more than she had asked for, because all the territories to the south of the Ghaggar, possessed by her in the time

3. No mention of the payment of remaining Rs. 8055/6/6 is available in the copy.

1. This has been dealt with in the paper *Patiala and Gen. Perron* read at the Mysore Session of the Commission.

2. Acknowledgement is due to Khalifa Saadat Hussain, Record Officer, Foreign Office, Patiala, for the English translation of this and other documents on which this paper is based.

of Najaf Quli Khan (C. 1780 A.D.), were not later included in the dominion of George Thomas. The fourth item and Perron's endorsement can be fully understood only in reference to past history which is briefly related here.

Maharaja Amar Singh (1765-81) waged a long war against Bhattis and the Mughal Officers in Hariana³. It has more than one phase into which we need not enter here. But in 1780 there was an agreement with Najaf Quli Khan who seems to have been in charge of the north-western part of the empire, or, as an historian says, of the area from Sarhind to Rajputana. According to this arrangement⁴ Patiala retained two contiguous blocks of territory :

1. Fatehabad, Sirsa and Rani, and
2. Gorakhpur, Bahuna and Barwala.

To these may be added Jamalpur and Tohana. These, situated in the Naili tract, formed two of the twelve Thanahs into which Alha Singh had divided his kingdom.

South of the Ghaggar then, the area down to Barwala in the south and from Tohana on the east to Rania on the west, belonged to the Patiala Raj at the accession of Maharaja Sahib Singh in 1781. The new ruler was only eight years of age; and there ensued at once a scramble for power among the heads of the factions, resulting in relaxation of control over or even confusion in the administration, particularly in the administration of the distant parts. Partly because of the faction fight and partly on account of the devastation caused by the severe famine of 1783 (*Chalise* of 1840 Samvat) the Patiala Government seems to have paid little attention to the Naili tract and to its proper administration. This offered the much-sought opportunity to the Bhattis, the implacable foes of the Sikhs, to drive their cattle eastward in search of some favoured spots. Not meeting with any opposition they remained in occupation of places suited to the purposes of a pastoral tribe. While it is difficult to determine the nature and extent of the hold which the intruders maintained over the Naili tract, it is safe to assert that Patiala authority was not effaced from it: for, thanahs there were still functioning at some places, as at Tohana. Then appeared George Thomas at Hansi who swept northwards with his disciplined forces till his dominion extended up

3. Hariana was an undefined tract as much as it was a no-man's land. Hariana proper included Hansi, Hissar and the adjoining area. To the North of it round about the Ghaggar the tract was known as Naili from Ghaggar Nala. Muhammad Shah in his Farman to Baba Alha Singh dated 21st Ramzan, 1137 A.H., called it by that name. It was also locally called the Sotar or Sot, Hariana, the Bangar or the Des.

One of the Mughal Officers referred to above was Mullah Rahimdad Khan who was slain in battle. Hansi and the contiguous places were conquered by Dewan Nanoo Mal of Patiala. The Bhatti chiefs of the time were Muhammad Amin Khan and Muhammad Hussain Khan who were driven back to Bhatner.

4. The parties met at Jhind. The agreement was later accepted (June 1781) by Mirza Najaf Khan who was the *thé Vakil-i-Mubluq* (1779-82). Sarkar's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, Vol. III pp. 219 and 226.

to the Ghaggar and included in it the ilaqas of Jamalpur-Tohana and Bahuna-Gorakhpur. At the end of his cometary career (Jany. 1, 1802) the question of retrocession of territory assumed importance.

Whosoever might have been in possession of the Naili tract during the preceding nineteen years or howsoever imperfect might have been the hold of Patiala over it, the Maharaja claimed, under the Wajib-ul-Arz reinstatement to the position which had existed at the end of Amar Singh's reign. This meant the restoration of the area which is commonly divided into three parts: the first comprised Fatehabad, Sirsa and Rania, the second included the pergunas of Jamalpur and Tohana, and the third may be called the taluqa of Bahuna-Gorakhpur. We exclude from consideration the first group because it was not within the dominion of George Thomas. Moreover the documents on which this paper is based make no reference to the places of the group.

After the fall of Thomas General Perron was master of the whole tract of Hariana as far north as the Ghaggar. With a view to preserve peace and order he appointed Capt. Manuel Deremao to its charge and posted troops at such places as Jamalpur and Tohana. Agreeably to the engagement of 1800 the Patiala Government desired to resume possession of the places. Upon reference to him Gen. Perron issued orders to Major Louis Bourquien who in his turn instructed the man on the spot to give up Gorakhpur-Bahuna to Patiala and to withdraw the Mewati troops from Jamalpur and Tohana. In the Patiala Records there are four *shuqas* which relate to this subject—three from Louis Bourquien to Manuel Deremao, and the fourth one is from Perron to Monnuel. Besides these there is a fifth piece of document, Wajib-ul-Arz to Lord Lake, which bears on the same subject. With this the paper will be brought to a close.

The first letter of Bourquien, which is dated 20th Zilhajja of the 44th year of the reign of Shah Alam II, ordered Capt. Manuel to make over the taluqa of Gorakhpur-Bahuna which of old had been in the possession of the Raja-i-Rajgan (Patiala). The fifteen villages which comprised the taluqa are mentioned in the letter.

The second letter of Bourquien dated 1st Jamadi II, 1217 H, says that the previous order of restoration should not be delayed at the instigation of any person and that possession should forthwith be given to the Thanedars of the Raja-i-Rajgan. It further mentions that the Mewatis from Tohana should be recalled as they were no longer needed there.

The third letter of Bourquien dated 9th Rajab, 1217 H, ordered Deremao to recall his men from the said taluqa and to transfer it to Bir Singh, Thanedar of the Raja Sahib. The Zamindars should be told that in future they should obey the Thanedar.

The fourth letter is from Perron to Bourquien and is dated 25th Jamadi II Julus 45. It refers to the same taluqa; and in it Bourquien

like Badsikri and Kassuban conquered by Thomas were occupied by while he was still sustaining the siege at Hansi.

is enjoined " to give due consideration to cases in which reference is made to him by the Thanedars of the State and always to co-operate in the cases which may arise later on ".

That Gen. Perron intended no infraction of the agreement is clear. But the Officer seems to have been slow to execute the intention or orders of the General. In that age of greed and rapine it was not at all unusual for a local Officer to delay or even to defy the order of his Government. Further it appears from documents of a slightly later date that Patiala experienced opposition from local people in the occupation of the restored lands. Then again on account of a severe draught no collection or even assessment of revenue could be made. Thus partly on account of the corruption of Sindhia's agents, partly on account of draught or local opposition, Patiala Government could not, and did not, it may be surmised, establish their effective hold over the ilaqs in question.

To complete the chain of adverse circumstances there came a change of rule. Twenty one months (January 1802 to September 1803) after the expulsion of Thomas, the Maratha authority was wiped off from the region; and the question of confirming Patiala in the possession of the retroceded territory was taken up anew by the British. But the matter did not engage their serious attention till the extension of their power to the Sutlej in 1809. In the meantime and soon after the fall of the Marathas Lord Lake in response to a Wajib-ul-Arz, recognised the claim of Patiala. The Wajib-ul-Arz of the Raja-i-Rajgan requested Lord Lake to attest on behalf of the East India Company that the territory possessed by Patiala from of old to the time of Gen. Perron should remain in the possession of the State and that no nazarana or mamla would be demanded for the same.

The Maharaja on his part engaged with heart and soul to remain a firm friend and well-wisher of the Company considering their friends as his friends and their enemies as his enemies.

At the top of the Arzi on the right-hand corner Gerard Lake wrote giving his consent to it. The endorsement runs thus: "Whereas he has accepted with heart and soul the friendship and advancement of the Government of the E.I. Company, the country in his occupation will ever remain intact; and nazarana and mamla will not be demanded by the Government."

This document is not dated. Proof of the year may be obtained from the Tazkira-i-Rajgan in the Patiala Record Office. It is 1804 A.D.

Mayurbhanj during the early Maratha and British occupation in Orissa.

[By Mr. P. Acharya, B. Sc.]

Before discussing the relation of the Marathas and the British with the rulers of Mayurbhanj, which never formed a part of Moghalband Orissa, I propose to deal with the position of the northern-most divisions of Orissa under the Moghals.

Todarmalla's *sarkar* Jaleswar was split into seven *sarkars* by Shah Shuja (C. 1650 A.D.) out of which six *sarkars*, namely, Remna, Basta, Jaleswar, Maljettah, Goalpara and Mazkurin were added to Bengal. These northern *sarkars* were placed by Murshid Kuli Khan (1722 A.D.) under two *Chaklas* called Bandar Balasore and Hijli and the Zamindary of Tamruk. In 1728 the southern half of these six *sarkars* with Balasore port was re-added to Orissa, but kept in Bengal for revenue purposes¹. As the *sarkars* Jaleswar, Basta and Remna surrounded the Mayurbhanj State on the north, east and south, the cession of the whole of Orissa bounded by "the river Sonamaki which runs by Ballisar Bender"² by Nawab Alivardi Khan to the Marathas in 1751 and the "Chakla of Midnapore in the districts of the Sonbah Orissa"³ by Nawab Mir Kasim to the British in 1760, brought the rulers of Mayurbhanj into direct contact with the two growing political powers of India.

It appears from two palm-leaf manuscripts called *Mayurbhanj Chauhadi Simu*, dated 1731 A.D., which deal fully with the boundary of the State that the northern boundary of eastern Mayurbhanj was the river Subarnarekha which still remains separating Dhalbhum from Mayurbhanj upto the western limit of Nayabasan pargana. The pargana Nayabasan lies on both sides of the Subarnarekha and to the east of Nayabasan lies the Parganas Rohini, Barajit and Dippa Kiarchand on its left bank and the Nayagram pargana on its right bank. The northern boundary of Mayurbhanj terminated at Nayagram garh from where again the eastern boundary commenced extending upto the village Mulida in the pargana Bhelorchaur a few miles below Rajghat. In this area there were border forts at Nayagram, Jamirapal, Olmara, Raibania, Enlath, Baradia, Amarda and Kahnupur. The *Midnapore District Gazetteer* records at page 193 that "before the establishment of the British rule, the Nayagram and Jamirapal estates were separate and their zamindars were feudatories of the Raja of Mayurbhanj from whom they received the titles of Mangaraj Bhuyan and Paikara Bhuyan respectively". Nayagram estate was annexed by the British in 1803. No report is available on the Fatiabad pargana in which Raibania garh is situated. The Olmara pargana of Mayurbhanj.

1. J. & P. A. S. B., 1916, pp. 32-33, 46.

2. *Siyar*, Vol. II, p. 113.

3. *Treaties, Engagements and Sanads*, Vol. I, 1909, p. 217.

is bounded on the north and west by the Jamirapal and Nayagram parganas of the Midnapore District and on the south by Fatiabad pargana of the Balasore District. It is not understood how the Olmara pargana remained in Mayurbhanj, being separated from the limits of the State. The boundary report then narrates that the boundary line passed on the *Badadanda* from Basta to Ramchandrapur. This boundary line is also corroborated by Motte's *Narrative* in which he writes that "the Rajah has no land to the eastwards of the road I came."⁴ Motte crossed the river Subarnarekha at Rajghat on the 25th, March 1766 and "entered Mohur Bunge country."⁵ The southern boundary was demarcated by rivers Budhabalanga, Gangahara, Prasanna and Sona separating Mayurbhanj from Moghalband and the Nilgiri State. Other boundary stations are not necessary for this paper.

Now let us see how the contemporary records help us to identify the boundary of Orissa ceded to the Marathas by the Nawab Alivardi Khan by the treaty of peace of 1751 A.D. Up-till now no copy of the original treaty of 1751 has been published any where. From Nos. 1244-47 of the *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol. II, pp. 330-32 it appears that the treaties between Alivardi Khan and Raghuji Bhonsla were preserved at Murshidabad upto 1769, but these letters do not contain any clause on the boundary of the ceded portion of Orissa.

The terms of the treaty or treaties have been referred to by the authors of *Siyarul Mutaakh-khirin*, Vol. II, p. 113, published in 1780, in which the boundary was demarcated by "the river Sonamakia which runs by Bullisar bender". The first English author to refer to this is Stewart who in his *History of Bengal*, p. 302 (Bangabasi Calcutta reprint) writes in 1813 that "the river Soonamookhy which runs by Balasore was considered as the boundary of two dominions". Grant Duff then in 1826 writes in his *History of the Marathas*, p. 504 (Bombay Times of India Press, reprint) that "Alivardi Khan *** ceded whole of the Province of Kattack as far as Balasore." But on the other hand Maulavi Abdus Salam, the translator of *Riyaxus-Salatin* writes in 1904 that "the river Sunamukhia (or Subarnarekha) near Jaleswar was the demarcation line of the boundaries of the Provinces of Orissa and Bengal" (p. 362), although the author of *Riyax* is silent about it. I have not examined the Persian text of the *Siyar* but the English translation is quoted above from the reprint published by R. Cambay & Co.

R. D. Banerji has quoted the terms of the treaty in his *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 110, from the Bakhar of the Bhonsla of Nagpur in which the river Subarnarekha is given as the northern boundary of Orissa and from *Siyar* putting a sign of interrogation against Sonamukhia in clause V of the treaty, and at page 118 he writes that "The river Sonamukhia is perhaps a mistake for the Subarnarekha, which we find to be the southern boundary of the Province of Bengal as soon as the English East India Company had assumed the reins of Government of Province." As the Regulation I of 1793 mentions the Province of Orissa

4. *Early European Travellers*, p. 6.

5. *Ibid*, p. 2.

under the British administration the southern boundary of the Province of Bengal was on the north of the Midnapore District and so he was certainly wrong on this point. Dr. K. K. Datta has accepted the note of the translator of *Riyas*.

The sources of Stewart's *History of Bengal* are the Persian records whereas Grant Duff relies on the Maratha records. It is not understood how Grant Duff's sources differ from the Bakhars of the Bhonslas. It may be that Kasirai Rajeswar Gupta's Bakhar escaped the notice of Grant Duff. As I have not personally seen this Bakhar, I am not sure about its authenticity. The important point on the situation of the boundary of Orissa ceded to the Marathas by Alivardi Khan is the situation of the Balasore town. Since there has not been any change in the position of Balasore town and Persian Ballisar cannot be a mistake of Jalisar, the boundary of the ceded Orissa must be searched for near Balasore and not at Jaleswar. There is a river called Sunai, shortened perhaps from Sunamukhi or Sunamuhini which joins with the Burabalanga river to a little west of Fuladighat and this river was the boundary at the time of treaty of 1751 and not the Subarnarekha. Both the rivers Sunai and Burabalanga rise from the Simlipal hill range of Mayurbhanj and like the Burabalanga on the northern Mayurbhanj the Sunai is an important river in the southern Mayurbhanj. We do not know which was more important in the middle of the 18th Century and which was the tributary and which was the main river. From its mention in the treaty of 1751 it seems that the Sunai was the main river. Rennel's Bengal Atlas sheet 7 (1779) shows that the 'Soane River' is much wider than 'Burabalang River' and thus proves its importance. In the *Diaries of Streynham Master* the river near Balasore is called 'Ballasore River' and in Motte's Narrative 'Ballasore' is stated to have been 'built along the river' 'Boree Bellaun' (modern Burabalanga).

In Rennel's map the boundary of the Maratha Orissa is shown all along the bank of the Subarnarekha, excluding a small portion on the west of Jaleswar where the boundary is shown on the right bank of the river and this boundary line in the map has got nothing to do with the actual possessions of the Marathas and the British in 1779 or even earlier. The British got Midnapore Chakla in September 1760 from Nawab Mir Kasim of Bengal. Before 1760 the Marathas, taking advantage of the great political changes in Bengal, extended their possession not only beyond the river near Balasore but far beyond the north of the river Subarnarekha also, excluding the small portion lying on either side of the Badsahi road from Dantan to Basta. The *Midnapore District Gazetteer* rightly narrates at page 32 that "The Subarnarekha river was not, however, the real boundary as the Marathas held territory north-east of the river in *Parganas* Bhograi, Kamarda, Pataspur and Shahbanda (Shahbandar)."

The southern half of the six *Sarkars* are no doubt the *Sarkars* of Jaleswar, Basta and Remna which were kept in Bengal for revenue purposes and it is possible that the *Sarkars* Jaleswar, Basta and a greater portion of the *Sarkar* Remna lying to the port Balasore were not ceded by Nawab Alivardi Khan. So the river 'Sonamakia' or

'Soonamookhy' should be identified with the Sunai which runs near by Remna and also Balasore.

No Oriya record is available showing the relation of the ruler of Mayurbhanj with the Marathas or the British, but the volumes of *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* contain a few references which are very valuable for history of Mayurbhanj. Letter No. 1021, dated the 15th March, 1761, goes to show that Maharaja Damodar Bhanja's offer of friendship was accepted by the Governor of Fort William in Bengal. The following letters show the relation of the Marathas with Damodar Bhanja. Letter No. 2481, dated 24th November, 1764, discloses that Bhawani Pandit intended to "root out the rebellious Zamindars of Hurrurpoo" (Haripur, the then capital of Mayurbhanj). This is corroborated by Motte's *Narrative* in which it is found that Bhawani Pandit actually invaded Mayurbhanj⁶ and Damodar Bhanja retired to the hills and thus frustrated the plan of Bhawani Pandit. Motte further writes thus in April, 1666, when he was at Balasore:—"There is usually at Ballasore, a party of thirty horse and five hundred foot. but at this time they are with Pellejee collecting the tribute of the Mahur Bunge country".

Maharaja Damodar Bhanja always resisted this claim of supremacy by the Marathas and maintained friendship with the British as is evident from the settlements made by him with the British. Letter No. 191, dated the 17th May, 1767 narrates that "Lieutenant Fergusson has settled the pargannas in the Mayurbhanj Rajah's possession for Rs.—a year."⁷ No record is available about the protest of the Marathas against this action on the part of the ruler of Mayurbhanj. These pargannas were Nayabasan and Bhelorachaur on the right bank of the Subarnarekha. That Bhelorachaur was in the possession of the British is proved from the following quotation:—"We might, in exchange, give them Boloorichour, the only parganna we possess to the S. Ward of the Subunrika. We should gain some advantage by the bargain in point of value, and it would, besides, render our territories on this side more compact and save us a number of disputes."⁸

Had the Subarnarekha river been the boundary according to the treaty of 1751 the British could not have claimed Bhelorachaur as a British possession and there would not have been any occasion for negotiation for its transfer to the Marathas.

Thus it is found from the contemporary records that Maharaja Damodar Bhanja sought and got help from the British power and maintained his position as an independent ruler against the claim of supremacy by the Marathas.

6. *Early European Travellers* p. 6.

7. do do p. 4.

8. *Midnapore Records*, Vol. I, p. 147.

9. *Ibid.* p. 145.

Influence of the Press on the outbreak of the Mutiny especially in Central India-Malwa.

(By Mr. K. L. Srivastava, M.A., B.T., LL.B., M.R.A.S.)

Sir Charles Metcalfe, during his temporary Governor-Generalship, passed the Act XI of 1835 giving full freedom to the Press.¹ Revolutionary as the measure was, it raised a storm of controversy among the British politicians. As it happened, the Indians took advantage of the liberty of the Press from 1835 to 1857 to insist on their political rights, to oppose the missionary activities, to resent the criticisms of the English Press on Indian social and religious practices, to shape a public demand, which was later backed by armed force during the Mutiny, for certain changes to prepare, in short, a full intellectual background for a revolution.² These activities were certainly not favourable to British interests. It appears from a despatch that the Court of Directors were alive to the magnitude of the Act. They characterised it "to be opposed to all previous orders ... required by no emergency, an uncalled for substitution of legal responsibility for the previous licencing system".³ The Court of Directors, however, did not veto the Act and it remained in force up to the Mutiny when the full effects of the Act were realized by all. The Indian Press had brought about a great intellectual revolution and had thereby prepared the way for the Indian Mutiny.

Sir Charles Metcalfe himself, as early as 1825, wrote: "The real dangers of a free press in India are, I think, in its enabling the natives to throw off our yoke." An unbridled Press is as dangerous to the Government as a muzzled Press is to the public.

Public opinion was much influenced by the "Asiatic Mirror", "Bengal Journal", "Bengal Harkara", "The Telegraph", "India Gazette", "Dig-Dursun", "Samachar", "Hindu Patriot", "The Friend of India", "Doorbeen", "Sultan-ul-akhbar", "Samachar Soodhurshun"⁴ and such other Papers. Among these we find a group of Government papers, a group of Missionary Papers and a group of Native Papers edited by Hindus and Muslims. The various groups had widely different outlooks. The English Press was often very free in its criticism of the Governmental acts but its principal object was to improve the administration. The Vernacular Papers on the other hand published translations of the articles of the English Papers mainly to broaden and deepen the distrust in the Government.

1. "A Comprehensive History of India, Civil, Military and Social" by Henry Beveridge, Vol. III, Page 252.
2. "Report on the Newspapers in Central India" (1857).
3. Despatch of the Court of Directors dated 1st February, 1836.
4. "The Press in India, 1780-1908"—an article in the "Nineteenth Century and After" by S.M. Mitra, Vol. LXIV, No. 378, August, 1908.

Prior to the Mutiny (1857) in Central India (Malwa), Indore and Gwalior were the two most important centres which had newspapers of their own. In Indore, a newspaper was published under the title of "Perfect Moonshine". Its last issue published the events of the 1st of July, 1857, (the day of the outbreak of the Mutiny at Indore). There was another Newspaper published at Indore called "The Malwa Akhbar". This was also brought to an end by the insurrection of 1857. The "Malwa Akhbar" was an official paper, and the "Perfect Moonshine" was a semi-official paper set up partly with the intention of opposing the views of the "Malwa Akhbar". At Gwalior was published the "Gwalior Akhbar", but most of the news concerning the Gwalior State were published in the "Mofussilite". Both these papers (Paras 2 & 3 abstract) survived the Mutiny. The Papers published within the Province of Malwa had, however, little to contribute to the Mutiny. "Within the limits of this charge (Central India) I think there is less to be apprehended from the Newspapers that may be published locally than from Newspapers which come from Lucknow, Delhi, Agra, Benares and other places". Among the most popular foreign Newspapers which had a commanding influence in Central India were, the "Madvah Akhbar", "Gwalior Akhbar", "Sealkote Akhbar", "Chusmah Failz", "Noor Murshurkee", "Persian Akhbar from Agra", "Delhi Akhbar", "Telerna Luckruiz", "Oonkor Rozegar", "Taleenool Hukkaayet" and the "Ahsoon-ool-Akhbar, Bombay".

The Newspaper acted as the transmitters not only of the news-items but also the comments published in the English contemporaries. In the case of comments on the acts of the British authorities they took deliberate care in putting perverted interpretation on administrative facts and exaggerated emphasis on official omissions or commissions. They laid their ingenuity under the fullest possible contribution for fanning discontent. As Mr. M. H. Durand aptly sums up in one of his minutes, "the ill-disposed were thus able to excite the race-antipathies of the masses, and fanned their hatred by appeals to every prejudice and passion which could intensify disgust at a foreign race and rule".

Native Newspapers had much influence upon the strata of Native Society below that of the Chiefs and perhaps had the greatest influence among the intelligentsia with national aspirations.

At most of the Durbars, the British newspapers were received, and carefully read. All matters of importance were translated and made known to the Chiefs. Prior to the Mutiny, the Chiefs generally regarded them as helpful to their interest. But occasionally articles

5. Royal Asiatic Society. "*Pamphlets on India*," Letter No. 3. (Bombay Branch). Cf "The Native Press published matters objectionable and seditious."

6. Colonel H.M. Durand's Letter Dated 29th September, 1857.

7. Major W.H. Rickard's Letter Dated 5th November, 1857.

8. "Minute" Dated 25th January, 1866 By H.M. Durand C.S.I., Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department.

appeared in the British Press which embarrassed them because of the freedom of discussion which characterized them. These occasional but dangerous articles in the British Press gave a good handle to the mischiefmongers who could easily translate the censorious passages and thereby fan discontent. The Native newspapers simply by translating such passages from the British Press did more harm to the British than by their own writings. And it was difficult to deal legally with them.*

The "*Hawking Publications*" also played not an insignificant part in bringing about the Mutiny. They contained "wholly distinct matter from the Native Newspapers" as they provided for the half-anna charm, half a dozen extracts from the religious books, provocative accounts of the campaigns in Sind, the Punjab, Afghanistan etc., a considerable quantity of writings on theology, forms of prayer, rules of ceremonial practices etc. They contained passages inculcating patriotism, racial bitterness and religious sentiments. "These (pamphlets) and the classics of Arabia and Persia were of usual stamp, but the pamphlets were more deserving of attraction and far more indicative of the feelings...of the population".

Besides newspapers, there were several other means of transmitting news in the pre-Mutiny period. Much of the local and foreign news were spread to the farthest corners of Malwa by bands of wandering sadhus and faquirs. The "hundis" received in many business firms of Malwa were accompanied by news. The "hulkaras", "sandni-sowars", village 'kotwals' and the 'pandas' carrying 'gangajali' were as it were so many moving newspapers. The private letters carried by the 'bullock-train' drivers and the 'banjaras' were also a much utilised source of information in an age which had not witnessed an effective postal system.

All these agencies, in themselves harmless, became in the hands of interested persons an effective machinery for the dissemination of rebellious doctrines and thus played no small part in precipitating the insurrection of 1857. The "*Madras Athenaeum*" commenting on the contribution of the Press to the Mutiny wrote: "it is not the mal-administration of justice which gives rise to discontent but that being known leads to consequences which could not have been apprehended. Thus it is clear not the acts of the Government but comments of the Press are the real source of rebellion"⁹. It can hardly be denied that there is some truth in the above statement.

It is true that political and economic causes lay at the root of the revolt. But we should not ignore at the same time that the Press did play an important part in making the people alive to their grievances and thus preparing an intellectual background of the insurrection.

9. Reply (to Government of India's circular letter dated 28th August, 1857) in Col. H.M. Durand's letter dated 29th September, 1857.

10. From "*Madras Athenaeum*" as quoted in the Royal Asiatic Society (Bombay Branch) Pamphlets on India, Letter No. 3.

Raja Karna, the son of Chhatrapati Rajaram

[By Dr. A. G. Pawar, M. A., LL. B., Ph. D., Bar-at-law]

Karna, the son of Rajaram, practically remains unnoticed, in the history of the Marathas. He was not, however, a negligible figure, and some historians relying mainly on Persian records go to the extent of asserting that Karna succeeded Rajaram but, as he died within three weeks Rajaram's son by Tarabai was seated on the throne¹. Whether Karna actually succeeded his father or not², it now becomes clear that he played an important part at the critical time of Rajaram's stay at Jinji.

In my exploration of historical material in the Kolhapur State I recently came across a bundle of original papers, mostly in Modi script and some in Persian, belonging to the Inamdar of a village near the fort of Panhala. Most of these papers belong to Rajaram's period (1689-1700) and are important enough to merit publication *in extenso*. The bundle contains two official letters of Karna and a partition deed of exceptional historical value. The deed is a roll some sixty-eight feet in length and it contains the account of the life-time of a man who had seen service under the first four kings of the Marathas. In this article I have made use of these documents along with Fort St. David letters bearing on this subject.

Karna was not quite unknown to the Maratha chroniclers. According to Chitnis³, Karna was a natural son of Rajaram and was born at Jinji. He was exceedingly handsome in appearance and was much loved by the king who bestowed on him a Saranjami fief of 5,000 and appointed Nilo Ballal as his manager. But this is all Chitnis has to say. Rajawade in his *Marathyanchya Itihasachi Sadhane* (Vol. XV), has published some papers referring to Karna⁴. From these we learn that Rajaram had given the *Deshmulci* of the district of Karad⁵ to the prince on behalf of whom one Sundar Tukadeo managed the estate. All these documents are dated 1693⁶ and in all of them Karna is officially designated as "Raja" and one⁷ of them bears Karna's personal seal.

The two official letters of Karna that I have found out belong to two different years. One is dated Feb. 22, 1694 and the other Aug. 10, 1696. In both of them the prince is described as "Raja

1. Sarkar's *History of Aurangzeb* Vol. V, p. 135; See also Scott's *Ferishta* Vol. II, p. 100.
2. It should be noted that there is absolutely no reference to Karna's accession in any one of the Marathi records, and there is no reason to believe that they conspired to remain silent over the matter.
3. *Thorle Rajaram*, p. 63.
4. See letter Nos. 14, 24, 25.
5. Now in the Satara District.
6. Rajawade has assigned a wrong date to No. 14 which goes along with the other two.
7. No. 25.

Karna Bhonsale" whereas in the papers published by Rajawade he is simply "Raja Karna". Moreover, the personal seal of the prince on each of these documents is different*, the one of 1696 being in every respect such as could be used by an heir-apparent or even by a king. The concluding words in both documents are, in the true style of such papers, in a different handwriting, and, but for the supposed tender age of Karna at the time when the documents were prepared, one would have regarded the handwriting as that of the prince himself.

Karna thus held an important position in the royal family at Jinji. His high status becomes even clearer when we consider the events of 1697. In that year peace negotiations were opened between Rajaram and Zulfiqar Khan, and the prince had to play his own part in them. We get a clear idea of these matters in the letters written from Fort St. David to Fort St. George. In their letter of July 7, 1697 they write, "The news from Zulphaker Cawns camp is that he would have Rama Raja to send his son Rajah Carna to him, and that he shall have country under King Aurrengzebe of 5 lack of Chuckroons⁹ per an., that Rama Raja must deliver up Chingee (Jinji) to the Nabob and go to Velloor fort, where his wife shall be sent him that has been for some time in the Mogulls custody¹⁰, that Nilla Puntaloo¹¹ must remain with the Nabob as Raja Carnes (Karna's) Tutor. This is the Public news"¹². In their letter of July 29, they continue the subject and say, "This day our Spy Braminy from the Moors camp advises that Ram Sing¹³ and Mondofhy¹⁴ with another chief man and 5 or 600 horse being sent by Zulphaker Cawn went to Chingie. Ram Sing and Mondofhy went into the Fort, the rest staying at the gates and after treating with Rama Raja, twas agreed that Ram Sing should give the King (Rama Raja) 15,000 Rups and Raja Carna to go with him to... Zulphaker Cawns camp and then Rama Raja should have 35,000 Rups more. His son to stay with the Nabob 2 months at the end of which to receive 50,000 Rups, being in all 100,000 Rups., that within said two months Zulphaker Cawn would deliver Rama Raja's chief wife and then Rama Raja was to surrender Chingie and to go to Vellore Fort; if the Chief

8. The paper dated 1694 bears the following seal:—

बालार्क श्रीकरोत्कृष्ण बहिस्पु (?) लोकपूजिता ॥

मुद्रारामसुवा भाति कलिकर्णस्य मोदिनी ॥

The other document dated 1696 has the following seal:—

बालार्क श्रीकरोत्कृष्ण जयिष्णु लोकपूजिता ।

मुद्रा राजारामसुनोः कलिकर्णस्थिराजते ॥

9. One Chackrum was equal to little less than Rs. 2/- in value. See *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 653.

10. I have not been able to find out who this wife was, and how and when she was captured by the Mughals. In the letter quoted next she is described as the "Chief wife" of Rajaram. Was she Karna's mother?

11. Nilo Ballal, already referred to.

12. Orme MSS. Vol. 136.

13. Ram Singh Hade. See Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. V, p. 105.

14. Who was he?

(? wife) is not delivered in that time that Rajah Carna to be returned to his father; Rama Raja who is to remain possessor of Chingie but it is ... agreed upon delivery of Raja Carna to Ram Sing, Zulphaker with his army is to remove to Wandesh or Chilliput ... One Sancojee Malhary¹⁵ is to attend Rajah Carna all the while he is with the Moors¹⁶.

It will take too much space to discuss the terms and implications of the treaty that was thus negotiated. Here it suffices our purpose to know that Raja Karna had a prominent role to play in those negotiations. In accordance with the terms of the proposed treaty Karna was sent to the Mughal Camp. The cryptic entry in *Jedhe Shakawali* for Aug. 2, 1697 becomes intelligible when read against the background of the negotiations. The entry reads, "Rajaram sent Karna into Mogolai"¹⁷.

Karna's journey to the Mughal camp and his subsequent homecoming are recorded in the partition deed that I have already referred to. Here I give a free translation of the relevant passage. The narrator is a person who himself accompanied Raja Karna. He says, "Rajaram had to make peace with Zulfiqar Khan by sending Raja Karna Bhonsale to him. Those who accompanied the prince were Shankaraji Pandit Sumant, Bavaji Prabu and myself. We took Raja Karna to Zulfiqar Khan and there successfully faced all the intricacies of the occasion. We had no failure in our diplomacy and when our mission was over we brought back Raja Karna to the King (Rajaram). All of us who accompanied the prince were highly rewarded by the King".

Considerations of space forbid me from entering into detailed discussion of Karna's life. But this I must say that the story as told by Chitnis of Karna being an illegitimate son of Rajaram cannot be accepted without further and stronger support. The Fort St. David letters based on information obtained from men on the spot do not even hint that Karna was an illegitimate issue. Nor is it easy to believe that the Mughal general Zulfiqar Khan would have condescended to ask Raja Karna to be sent to his camp if the prince were only an illegitimate child. The way in which Karna was treated at this time both by his own men and by his enemies makes it clear that he must have been regarded as an heir-apparent. And that too when at least one legitimate son of Rajaram was living¹⁸. Moreover, illegitimate sons of the Maratha kings have never attained to the position which Karna enjoyed. King Shahu (1708-1749) had at least two illegitimate sons, but none of them could aspire for the throne. Raja Karna, on the contrary, is said to have been "crowned as king" when there were two¹⁹ other legitimate sons of Rajaram who could not only claim the throne but who actually occupied it

15. Shankaraji Pandit Sumant.

16. Orme MSS. Vol. 136.

17. *Shivacharitrpradip*, p. 39.

18. Rajaram's son Shivaji by Tarabai was born on June 9, 1696. *Jedhe Shakawali* Op. Cit. pp. 38-39.

19. Shivaji by Tarabai and Sambhaji by Rajasbai.

in course of time". These and other arguments practically compel one to regard Raja Karna as the legitimate son of Rajaram, and the case becomes stronger when we remember that we do not as yet know all the details of all the wives and children of that king.

The despatches of Warren Hastings and the history of Dhenkanal.

[By Pandit N. N. Mahapatra, Vidyalañkar.]

In the numerous despatches of Warren Hastings to the Court of Directors in London, and also in Samartarang, an Oriya poem by Brajanath Barajena, we find references of the war of Maharaja Trilochan Mahindra Bahadur against Chinnaji Bapu the second son of Madhaji Bhonsla of Nagpur in the famous Sathiabati field of Dhenkanal in 1780 A.D.

There was a confederacy among Hyder Ali of Mysore, Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur and the Peshwa of Poona to stand and fight against the English. It was proposed that the Bhonsla Raja would invade Bihar and then Bengal. Accordingly, an army sixty thousands strong was despatched under the leadership of Chinnaji Bapu on the Dusserah day, 1779 A.D.

During this time there was confusion in Orissa and Raja Rama Pandit was governing the province of Orissa with the assistance of Bhawani Pandit on behalf of the Bhonsla Raja. Raja Damodar Bhramarbar Rai of Dhenkanal was murdered by the Marhattas, under the leadership of Mian Marjan Khan; his palace in Bhimanagari was burnt to ashes, the entire fort was destroyed and his country plundered. Raja Joynarayana Bhramarbar Rai ruled for two years only and then we find Maharaja Trilochan Rai Singh on the gadi.

The Marhattas had imposed heavy peskas on the state and it amounted to sixty thousand kahanas (rupees) annually. Owing to the murder of the ruler and famine, peskas for two to three years could not be sent to the Marhatta treasury at Cuttack. Raja Rama Pandit picked up a quarrel with Maharaja Trilochan and pressed him hard to clear off all dues. The Maharaja requested for allowing the peskas to be paid up by instalments but to no effect.

Raja Rama Pandit came with a large force and advanced as far as Motari village of the Dhenkanal state. The Raja despatched his paiks (militia) who compelled Raja Ram to retreat with heavy losses. Raja Ram applied to Nagpur to punish the arbitrary chief of Dhenkanal and when he was informed that Chinnaji Bapu had gone on an expedition

20. In this connection it is important to note the words which the contemporary writer Bhimsen uses in describing Karna's accession. He says, "News came that Rama had died of small-pox. His eldest son Karna was crowned in his place." *Nuskha-i-Dilkasha*, (130 a).

to Bihar and Bengal, he hastened towards him and met him on the way. He prevailed over him to come to Orissa and punish the Raja of Dhenkanal. Accordingly Chimnaji Bapu redirected his steps towards Orissa and in 1780 pitched his camp with many thousands of horses, elephants, camels and infantry in the famous field of Sathiabati just under the foot of the Kutunia and the Koria hills in the Dhenkanal state.

Warren Hastings was the Governor of Bengal. He sent Mr. Anderson to watch over the movements and activities of Chimnaji Bapu as His Excellency could not believe that the entire army of the Bhonsla Raj was directed against the small state of Dhenkanal to oust it.

In the instructions issued to Mr. Anderson and in the various despatches sent to the Court of Directors by the Governor-General¹ we get clear glimpses of the position of the British territories of the time, statesmanship of Hastings that succeeded in establishing the future British Empire in India and the Far East and the Procedure of the Government day-to-day to win over the various parties, involved in the political arena of the day.

Warren Hastings instructs Mr. Anderson to approach Chimnaji Bapu to put up the case of the British very cleverly before him and inspire him with hopes to win the gadi of Nagpur for himself after the demise of his father setting aside the case of his eldest brother, who was claimant to the gadi after Madhaji being the eldest of the family and in return Chimnaji Bapu should help the British with his large army in the wars against Hyder Ali of Mysore for which Warren Hastings was prepared to pay about 12 to 17 lakhs of rupees as the cost of the army to Chimnaji.

The Tondaiman's relations with the East India Company during the 18th century.

[By Mr. K. R. Venkata Rama Aiyar, B.A., L.T.]

Upto about 1804, the Tondaiman Rulers of Pudukottai dated their grants in the reigns of the descendants of the Vijayanagar Emperors, and upto the break up of the Nayak kingdom of Madura-Trichinopoly in A.D. 1736, they called themselves the feudatories of the Nayaks, who were in theory the Viceroys of the defunct Vijayanagar Empire.

In 1743, Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman interviewed Asaf Jah, the Nizam-ul-Mulk, at Trichinopoly, and got from him a grant of territory. During the wars of succession in the Carnatic which began in 1749, the Tondaiman voluntarily declared for the Nawab Muhammad Ali

1. *Despatches by Warren Hastings* published by the Imperial Record Department.

and the English East India Company. Comradeship in arms for about half a century knit closer the ties between the Tondaimans and the Nawab with the result that the Tondaiman enjoyed a peculiarly privileged status,¹ was honoured as a 'friend' and 'well-wisher'² and was exempted from all tribute³. The Tondaiman declared himself, however, as being under the 'protection' of the Nawab.

The Walajani Nawabs were throughout dependent upon English arms for the maintenance of their power, which at no time was absolute within the sphere of their authority. In 1781 Muhammad Ali assigned the revenues of the Carnatic to the English for five years; in August 1790, the Company took possession of the country by proclamation without treaty, and finally in 1801, assumed the government of the Carnatic. The *de-facto* rulers of the Carnatic during the second half of the 18th century were the East India Company; and in this paper we shall examine in the light of Pudukkottai records⁴ the political and constitutional status of the Tondaimans in their dealings with the Company.

The Tondaimans enjoyed the highest personal regard and confidence of all the Company's officers from the Governor of the Presidency to the officers serving in the South Indian Campaigns of the period. The Company's officers treated the Raja with so much consideration that Major Lawrence once wrote that he considered the Tondaiman's honour and theirs 'as but one'. At Fort St. George, the Tondaiman was represented by his 'Vakil'. The State records mention four of these Vakils by name Chandrappiah, Narasinga Rao, Kuttaiya Chari and Subbiah. A letter from Major Lawrence (A.H. 1166 or A.D. 1752) refers to 'your Vakil who is my best friend'. In a letter, dated 14th Rajab, A.H. 1196 or 25th June, 1782, Colonel Fullerton commended to the Raja the services of Vakil Kuttaiya Chari to the English cause. Vakil Narasinga Rao was treated with the highest respect by the officers of the Company. The Tondaiman's representative at Madras was received with all the marks of distinction and favour that are usually shown to ambassadors of independent princes.

In the estimation of the Company's officers, the Tondaiman was an 'independent prince and ruler of an extensive Province' with absolute powers in the 'internal arrangement of his Province', and they corresponded with him directly. In their proceedings dated 6th May, 1771, on the report of a select committee consisting of Josias Du Pre, Governor of Madras, Warren Hastings and Samuel Ardley, members of Council, the Madras Council recorded that it appears that the only right (the Nawab

1. For an elucidation of the political status of the Tondaimans under the Nawabs of the Carnatic, see the author's publication *A Manual of the Pudukkottai State*, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 819-20.
2. *Pudukkottai Palace Records*:—Persian letter from the Nawab dated 18th Muharram, A.H. 1166 (25th November, 1752).
3. Col. Fullerton: *View of the English Interests in India* (London, 1788) pp. 86-7.
4. To be edited and published.
5. Letter dated 9th Ramazan, A.H. 1167 (30th June, 1754).
6. An office that corresponds to that of a modern *Charged-affaires*.

or the Raja of Tanjore had) over these (Pudukkottai, Ramnad and Sivaganga) is *power* and that *constitutionally* they are *independent* of both'. A memorandum, dated 1779 and entitled *An inquiry into the Policy of Making conquests for the Molmetans in India with the British Arms*, records the conclusion that the Raja of Tanjore and the Tondaiman were independent rulers in no way subject to the Nawab. It has to be noted that the Company freely permitted the Tondaiman to enter into alliances, offensive and defensive, with Tanjore, Ramnad or Sivaganga, provided they were not directed against the authority or the interests of either the Nawab or the English.

There is an important document, which has escaped general attention so far, that defines unequivocally the status of the Tondaiman. It is a *cowle nama*', or agreement in Persian, signed by George Pigot, Governor of Fort St. George, and dated the 22nd Dhul-Haj, A.H. 1168, or 28th September, 1755. It may be rendered into English as follows :

"Being an Ally of the Honourable Company, You have from the beginning continued to assist them. Wishing the prosperity of the Nawab Umdat ul Mulk Siraj ud Dowla Bahadur Dilawar Jang (Muhammad Ali), You continued to assist him.

"You still continue to do the same. We therefore enter into the following agreement with you.

"From henceforth you and we are firmly united, and we will support and protect you, your sons and daughter's sons for all time to come. Your aid must be given to us whenever we require it. Your troops shall receive batta.

"If any enemy should attempt to molest you, we shall assist you with troops and arms and ammunition. In the event of any great reverse, you shall always have a safe refuge in Devanampatam or Madras.

"The titles of honour and the Jagirs, which may be conferred on you by the Nawab, shall be confirmed and secured to you....."

"Should any of your subjects commit any offence, he will be sent to you for punishment.

"I shall obtain and send to you a *parwana* from Our King in confirmation of all that I have written.

"Be at your ease entirely, therefore, in regard to these points and consider this letter as a full and complete *Cowle*."

This *Cowle* has in it the germs of the future 'obligations and engagements' that have secured for Pudukkottai the fullest measure of

7. Later referred to by Captain (afterwards, Colonel Sir William) Blackburne, Resident for Tanjore, and Pudukkottai, in his letter to the Madras Govt. No. 6-Political, dated 5th July, 1830.

'protection and union' under the British Crown. Pudukkottai is pre-eminently a State that has grown with the growth of the Company and strengthened with its strength. In a period when the political relation between the Company and the Indian princes was in an inchoate state, this document gave reality to the suzerainty of the Company, which was not merely unilaterally or accidentally declared, but felt and cheerfully acknowledged by the Tondaiman. It promised the Tondaiman protection and alliance. If the genesis of the present relation between the Crown and the Indian princes rests upon the prerogative of the British sovereign to grant honours, territories etc., we find an echo of it in this document, drawn up at a time when British imperial policy was undefined, in the assurance of the Governor to confirm and secure for the Tondaiman 'the titles of honour and the Jagirs'. This agreement mentions the mutual obligations for the common defence, now so essential a factor in the relations between the Suzerain power and the protected States. In the promise 'to protect your sons and daughter's sons', we may discern the right which the protecting power later exercised, even its dealings with this State, to recognize succession to the *padi*; to settle disputes as to succession, to take charge of the territory during the minority of a ruler and to provide for his education. The provision for the extradition to the State of offenders is an acknowledgement of the sovereign rights of the Tondaiman.

In his book *The Protected Princes of India* Sir William Lee-Warner refers to "some states with which no treaties of any sort have been concluded; and yet, by long usage.....they are as much entitled to the protection of Her Majesty as if their relation were fully expressed in writing," and goes on to observe that "the ruler of Pudukota, with an area of 1101 square miles, has received the marked distinction of a Sanad of...adoption signed by Lord Canning, which confers upon him the right to adopt a successor under certain conditions. The Raja's ancestors received in 1806 a concession of land in perpetual lease, but for evidence of his status as a Native Chief prior to 1862 he can appeal to no treaty or engagement with the British Government." Had only Sir William been acquainted with the contents of this document, he would not have made this observation. In the history of Pudukkottai the grant of this *Cowle* of 1755 is as important an event as the cession of the district of Kilanilai, the declaration of the State as 'Foreign territory' under Act VI of 1844, and the grant of the sanad of 1862 giving the rulers the right to adopt heirs; and it brings to light in no uncertain terms the nature of the relations that subsisted between the East India Company and 'one of the best allies that the Company ever had'.

Some notes on a conflict between Kanhoji Angria and the English of Bombay.

[By Cavaliero Panduranga Pissurlencar.]

The amicable settlement arrived at between Kanhoji Angria and the English authorities at Bombay in 1713 was but short-lived. The relations between the two maritime powers became seriously impaired by Kanhoji's capture of three ships in succession which the Bombay authorities claimed as belonging to the Company. The first ship to be captured was the *Success*. The English contended that it belonged to their broker Goyardhandas. The second was named the *Robert*, and the third, the *Otter*.

Kanhoji having captured this last named vessel, the Bombay Council decided, on the 5th of April, 1717, "to pay him back in his own coin". War was not, however, declared on him till the 17th June, 1719.¹ Governor Boone was not sure what would be the attitude of Shahu in this war.

With a view to ascertaining the opinion of the court of Satara, the Governor of Bombay sent in August, 1718, an envoy named Babaji Crustt (*i.e.* Krishna) to the presence of Shahu Maharaj, with the following instructions:²

1. After your arrival visit the Rajah and observe carefully whether the friendship between the King (of England) and the said Rajah is cordial or mere formal and deal with him accordingly.
2. You will also note whether Ballaji Viswanath, his lieutenant (minister), and his other favourites unreservedly obey him or whether there is misunderstanding among them; also observe whether Ballaji and Angria have friendly relations or they pretend to be friends and (ascertain) whether Ballaji will or will not send Angria any succour if he asks for it and you will also find if Pillagy Zadav, his wife's uncle is on good terms with him (Angria) and in case Ballaji happens to be Angria's friend you will conduct our business with all care and prudence so that it may succeed. And you will also find who is acting there as (Procurator) the agent of the aforesaid Angria, what is he negotiating about and whether the Rajah is (favourably) inclined towards him or simply deals with him as a matter of form and you shall proceed accordingly.
3. And if perchance you think that the Rajah is favourably disposed towards him you should represent that our friendship with the Marathas subsists from time so remote as that of Sivagy and that when the enemy marched against them and Rama Raja betook

1. Dr. S. N. Sen, *Milit. Syst. of the Marathas*, 1928, pp. 196-204.

2. Cópia das instrucções para Babagy Crustt (*Portuguese Records*, Vol. I,² Bombay Secretariat Rec.)

himself to Chandy (Jinji) and the Mughal took possession of all the fortresses of his dominions and besieged the islands of Candery (Khandery), Cullabo (Kolaba) and Padamadrug in such a manner that neither reinforcement nor provisions could be sent (to these places) and they were considered as lost and when in this plight the captains of these islands wrote to us saying that our friendship subsisted from Sivagi's time, that the Rajah who was to relieve them had retired to Chandy and since the principal officers who acted in his place had not provided for them, the islands ran the risk of being lost, they solicited us to help them in view of that friendship: the letter was sent through respectable persons who also made the same representation to us. We, in response to this appeal sent our fleet which chastised the enemy and facilitated the throwing of reinforcement and provisions and the said islands, then considered as lost, revived their confidence and have been preserved (for the Marathas) even now. All the necessary expenses were borne by the most illustrious Company and all this is certainly known to the Rajah but none the less remind him of it.

4. Amicable relations have been maintained on both the sides since old times but as that State has undergone several changes we had ordered our fleet to supply ammunition to any of their vessels (i.e. of the Marathas), if it happened to meet one that might ask for it, with a view to render all manner of help and the Angria took one of our vessels carrying diamonds under the pretext of friendship. In that vessel, there was property worth 300,000 rupees. After this 2 other vessels from Calicut with a cargo of pepper and goods worth 100,000 rupees were also seized by him under the same pretext. We thought of waging war on him and punish him for this injury, but in view of the longstanding friendship with the Rajah and as he had conferred the post of Sarquel on him (Angria), it became necessary to conclude peace.

5. Accordingly agreements were concluded on both the sides on the condition of restoring to us all the merchandise of the 2 boats mentioned above as written in the same capitulations: nonetheless he has not returned till today the aforesaid cargo. And after this he seized under the pretence of friendship the vessel of our broker Govardhandas and also that of our Englishman Mr. Bennett who resides at Surrate which was on its way from Calicut with his cargo and (he seized this) year the ship of our factory of Bengal with all its cargo with the same trick and pretext of friendship. In this way he seized those 3 vessels without any fighting for our people thought that they were dealing with friends as peace had been concluded between the two parties. But if he wanted to seize those vessels in war, he would have received a hearty punishment for his audacity and the Rajah would have heard of it. Should the said Rajah support Angria in this matter, you will carry on the negotiations in such a manner that you may discreetly ask for those vessels and their cargo; and you will write to me clearly whether this is possible or not.

6. And if you think that the Rajah is no friend of Angria's you will inform him that Janardan Zoshi had come here with his letter and considering the circumstances of what he told me...I sent him in reply my decision...and considering what he had proposed to me.....a written reply besides some other things.....I enjoined him to say verbally that he has not as yet given me any reply and if that decision.....inform him that everything has been done by sea.....that on our part all the necessary preparations.....and that the said Rajah with dissimulations will certainly do much more, but it is necessary that he (Shahu) should give orders to his army to destroy by land all the roads and severely chastise the Angria and seizing all the fortresses and islands force him to return to obedience and then all the insults will be wiped away and the merchants will continue their trade in peace; while dealing with this point, you shall write to me so that a convenient reply may be sent from here.

7. Our people always used to carry on their trade in their own vessels with Pen, Nagotna, and other places. These vessels were seized by the Angria, and their cargo and cash were taken. Therefore I have sent from here the gallivats of my fleet to fetch them, and, the said ships having gone to fetch the said vessels, Angria's men attacked our (fleet) and in the battle they fought there occurred casualties on both the sides and some were wounded, and as this augmented hostility, destruction of people and territories followed.

Governor Boone also wrote a letter to Sambhaji Rajah complaining against Kanhoji Angria. The concluding lines are:—"..... and because I am informed that he calling himself Your Majesty's vassall, does not owe you obedience, and so it is just that Your Majesty should order his punishment; therefore I write to Your Highness that if it pleases you to send your men by land; it will be good for that effect, and that I wish that Your Highness after destroying the Government of that Pirate, should establish yours in Kolaba, and the other fortresses which are in his possession..."

As, it was to be expected neither Shahu nor Sambhaji of Kolhapur wanted to interfere in the conflict, in favour of the English against Kanhoji Angria. The letters exchanged between Kanhoji and Governor Boone about this matter are lying buried in the archives of the Bombay Secretariat. They have escaped the historian's attention probably because they are in Portuguese. It is only to draw his attention to this fact that I have contributed these few notes.

A note on Velu Tampi's rebellion.

[By Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B. Litt. (Oxon.)]

Velu Tampi was the typical strongman of his times. When vested in his own person he had a salutary respect for authority. For weakness and incompetence he had nothing but contempt. A rebel by instinct, he knew how to work upon popular passions. His first revolt brought him to power but the second wrought his ruin. Yet his worst enemy could not attribute his discomfiture to lack of daring or enterprise. To yoke his willing confrere of Cochin was perhaps not so difficult but Velu Tampi tried and all but succeeded in rallying all the discontented elements under his own leadership and looked across the seas for an ally whose prowess had proved more than equal to that of the British in the battlefields of Europe. It was not his fault that the expected succour from the French islands never arrived. The story of his insurrection told so well by Wilson (*History of India*) and V. Nagam Aiyar (*Travancore State Manual*) need not be repeated here but we may rescue from oblivion a narrative which Col. Daly left of what may rightly be described as Velu Tampi's last parleys with a British Officer. It shows the redoubtable Dewan at his best and worst. Col. Daly commanded the Carnatic Brigade which stood so staunchly by the Dewan, and knew him well. The narrative that follows was written for the information of Col. Macaulay, the Resident, and was transmitted by him to the Acting Chief Secretary of the Government of Fort St. George.

"You will recollect that your writer in Company with me left your House at Cochin on the 26th December about Eight O'Clock at night for Aleppi where we arrived next morning about the same hour, and immediately waited upon the Dewan to whom I delivered your letter. He appeared highly pleased with the contents and instantly ordered Palpanapoolah his late Secretary to make out a letter of resignation for him which letter was to be delivered to the Colonel for the purpose of forwarding to the Rajah. Your writer requested a copy of this letter which he said was requisite for the satisfaction of the Colonel. I should have observed that on our way to the Outchree, I desired your writer to inform the Dewan that it was the Colonel's order for me to return with him, which he did, but the Dewan hastily answered there was no necessity for that as he wished me to accompany himself. I was struck with the manner of his reply and instantly said that I had made the same observation to the Colonel at Cochin, and that he said. It was very well, my reason for this was to do away any suspicion the Dewan may harbour we then enquired at what time he would be ready to depart, he answered the next Evening about Eight or Nine O'Clock so that the Colonel may Expect him at Cochin Early the Morning following, at the same time he desired the writer to request of the Colonel to order two Palinquins one for himself and the other for me, I observed that two Palinquins would not be sufficient as his Brother Tomby would want one, he answered Tomby and Palpanapoolah must manage for themselves as well as they can. He then added that it would be proper for the

Colonel to order four Guards with a Jemadar to await our arrival at Cranganore as it was possible his own people may do him injury on the way when they discovered his flight, all which the writer promised to mention to the Colonel we then took leave & ca. on the Evening of the same day I waited on the Dewan and found him seated in greater state than usual surrounded by a number of the Head people such as Valia Sarwadies and Sarwadies, I observed the Pepper Sarwady Palpanapoolah was not present, the Dewan after some short time desired I would go home as he was then a little busy that there was no occasion for me to come next morning but to come in the Evening I was surprised at this, and desired my linguist to speak in his ear (?) (many people being present) and Enquire what he meant by what he said just now as he knew very well the time was precious and Colonel Macaulay would be expecting him at Cochin agreeable to his promise. He answered that the day tomorrow was not a good day, but to come in the Evening and he would inform me the time to a certainty, accordingly the following Evening about seven O'Clock I waited on him when he soon dispatched me saying tomorrow Evening about nine O'Clock we shall take our departure take care to have your Boat &ca. in readiness at that hour. Accordingly on the 29th in the Evening about seven O'Clock I waited on him having previously made ready my Boat imagining he would to a certainty set off the same night, on seeing me he inquired if I was ready, I replied that all was ready according to his desire—he then asked me when do you propose to depart. I answered, I only wait your orders—he then asked me if I truly and sincerely trusted in Colonel Macaulay's promises to him, I answered that I trusted most sincerely and so much so that I would answer with my life for Colonel Macaulay's faithfully fulfilling every Engagement or promise made him upon this occasion.—He then said when I go to Cranganore will the Colonel not do me any harm I answered certainly not, I have a brace of loaded Pistols by me and should sooner shoot myself with one of them than advise you to the step if I had the least suspicion of Colonel Macaulay's doing you harm, on the contrary he will I am certain treat you with honor and respect. What then does Colonel Macaulay certainly believe that I shall come there, was his reply. I answered most certainly.—Oh he is a fool was the answer, I thought he was a man of sense but I find he has no sense he trusts to my writing and promises I am the Minister of Travancore how could Colonel Macaulay suppose that I would leave my King and Country to live in the Company's Territories was I to do so I would be looked upon as a Traitor by my own King and Cast, and at the same time despised by the English Government therefore I now tell you I shall never quit my Country to please Colonel Macaulay, the Colonel wishes my departure very much I am certain as in that case he would assume all power and authority over the Country. He wrote me to discharge the Carnatick Brigade, I will not discharge that Brigade I shall raise five Battalions more and immediately make war against the Company, I answered if you pretend to make war against the Company you will lose your life the Rajah his Country and the Poor Inhabitants will be ruined and destroyed—he then said I have a Lack and fifty thousand Men and Marhattas are at war with the Company and the French and Russians are on their way through Persia and

will be in this Country very soon, therefore the Company have no Force at hand to bring against this place; besides I have written and sent people to the Poligars and Moples from Madura to Gananore who are all to a man ready to join when I commence the War. I answered the Company has taken all India Travancore Excepted, therefore their power is every where whoever has informed you of a Marhatta War and that the French and Russians are arrived at Persia, were very wrong as there is not a word of truth in it, and you may be assured the Polygars are not such fools as to join with you, they know the Company's Power and resources too well for that, therefore, I now assure you that in the course of fifteen or twenty days the Companys army will arrive by land and sea and soon possess themselves of this Country, and you will most certainly lose your life—he replied it is a custom to make war and afterwards to make a peace therefore I am determined to begin a war. I replied what you say is in some measure true but Believe me if you begin the War the Company will never make peace with you.—He then said I want to make war, get a Name and then Die, I then asked him why did you send me so often to Colonel Macaulay to try to conclude this business in an amicable way if you had all this in your heart—he replied I did so to gain time to prepare myself—I then observed I trusted your word, and took a great deal of trouble in this affair what must Colonel Macaulay think of me now, upon which he replied, oh Colonel Macaulay's business is all done to-day, his Head is kicking about the streets of Cochin by this time. Upon which somewhat disconcerted of course I said then Dewan I suppose you reserve the same fate for me, I believed your going according to your promise to Colonel Macaulay, but it seems you have deceived him as well as me, the last time I went to Cochin I took all my money and left it at Colonel Macaulay's House which will be plundered by your people of course, now I have lost my word, I have lost my money, and I suppose you will take my life, and all this in consequence of placing so much confidence in you—he then said I shall do you no harm, you must go and remain prisoner at your House. I should have said that I had before refused to join the Brigade—he then asked how much money did you take to Cochin I replied about twelve thousand Rupees, you shall not lose that money was the reply, I shall give you my Bond on the circar account for the twelve thousand rupees payable on demand with the interest of Eight per cent until paid, I immediately answered I will receive no Bond or any thing else from you on any account, spare my life that is all the favour I ask at present, and I instantly left his presence, I certainly Expected to be murdered before I should reach my own House, I however waited in the outside Cutchavree until he came out which was shortly after, and then saluted him, upon which he gave me his Hand telling me not to be afraid, I however had lost all confidence in him—the same moment the Brigade marched off and the Dewan joined them in his Palinqueen. I then returned to my House where I found he had sent the Bond.

To the best of my recollection this is the purport of what past between the Dewan and me from the 27th December 1808 until the 29th Decr."

If Daly is to be believed, Velu Tampi hoped to bring about an anti-British alliance of the principle Malabar states with the French and the Marathas. Chimerical as the scheme may now appear it was not entirely impracticable. The Marathas were still smarting under their recent discomfiture and had not yet been reconciled to their subordinate status. There was no lack of disaffection among the Moplas and Nayars and France was at open war with Britain. A Maratha-Malabar combination backed by France might very well succeed where Travancore and Cochin failed. Velu Tampi had French officers on whom he could rely. Two Frenchmen, Captains La Fobi and Alaire, served in the Carnatic Brigade and we learn from Col. Macaulay that two sons of the former and a near relative of the latter had taken an active part in Velu Tampi's rebellion.² As early as the 11th September the Resident had noticed with unconcealed concern the presence of French sailors serving in Arab vessels at Aleppi.³ On the 16th December he reported to Mr. Buchan that two Mahomedans had been despatched by the Dewan to Mauritius on a Maldivian vessel to solicit a reinforcement of 500 Artillery and Col. Macaulay believed that "the Govt. of the French Islands could in security run over to Aleppi as many troops as they might be disposed to send", as "the Port of Aleppi may be entered in the midst of the heaviest monsoon gales"⁴. On the 21st of December he wrote — "Every one is told that the French and Marathas are to assist the Ram Rajah".⁵ Velu Tampi had evidently received exaggerated reports of French success in Europe and there was persistent rumour about early arrival of a French force in Malabar but there is no evidence that he ever opened any negotiation with any of the disgruntled Maratha chiefs. There is no reason however to discredit Daly's report; he had nothing to gain by fabricating a false story after the rebellion had been completely suppressed. Col. Daly and Major Hamilton were the only officers of the Carnatic Brigade who did not join the rebels and were therefore sure of the pension promised by the Company's government. Though the insurrection of 1808-9 proved a dismal failure, Daly's narrative goes far to prove that Velu Tampi could plan on a grand scale and was not an indifferent student of current politics although he was sadly misinformed about European and Indian affairs. However strongly we may condemn his misdeeds we cannot but admire the unflinching courage that sustained him till the last moment and enabled him to make his final exit in a manner worthy of the best traditions of his land.

2. Col. Macaulay's letter, dated 11th March, 1809 (Secret Cons. 10th April, 1803, No. 3).

3. Secret Consultation, 2nd Jany. 1809, No. 37. -

4. Secret Consultation 23rd Jany. 1809, No. 33.

5. Secret Cons., 23 Jany. 1809. No. 37.

APPENDIX A.

REPORT OF THE SIXTH MEETING OF THE LOCAL RECORDS SUB-COMMITTEE
HELD ON THE 30TH MARCH, 1942.

PRESENT.

Mr. John Sargent, M.A., C.I.E.—*Chairman*.Captain N. Ramsay, M.B.E.—*Member*.Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt.(Oxon.)—*Secretary*.

ABSENT.

Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D.—*Member*.

REPORT.

I. Conspectus of the action taken on the resolutions passed at the fifth meeting of the Local Records Sub-Committee held on the 1st December, 1941.

Action taken on the resolutions was approved.

II. Training in Archives Keeping.

Resolution 1.—Resolved that the full training scheme (of two years) be approved and that it be circulated to all the departments of the Government of India, Provincial Governments and Indian States, Universities and learned institutions in India for information and such action as they may consider necessary. It will be open to candidates to go for one year's training in any two special subjects and a six months' training course in preservation only will also be offered to menders and students interested in that particular subject.

III. Economy in the consumption of paper.

Resolution 2.—Resolved that steps be taken to implement the Five-year publication programme as recommended by this Committee in their meeting held on the 1st December, 1941 and subsequently by the Research and Publication Committee and the Indian Historical Records Commission during the eighteenth session held in January, 1942. The subject of actual printing will be taken up for further consideration six months hence.

IV. Requisition of papers in the custody of the Imperial Record Department.

Resolution 3.—Resolved that the suggested procedure may be adopted with the concurrence of the various departments of the Government of India and the Political Department. Requisition for the Crown records and confidential records of other departments should always be made through the department to which the records in question belong.

V. Preparation of a descriptive list of the N.-W. F. P. records.

Resolution 4.—Resolved that the work in connection with the N.-W. F. P. records be continued in accordance with the proposed scheme.

VI. Use of Boards in the bundles of records for transfer to the Imperial Record Department.

Resolution 5.—Resolved that in case 5-ply wood boards are not available the synthetic boards tested by the Imperial Record Department be used instead of Kail wood boards as a measure of economy during the pendency of war.

(Sd.) JOHN SARGENT, *Chairman*.N. RAMSAY, *Member*.S. N. SEN, *Secretary*.REPORT OF THE SEVENTH MEETING OF THE LOCAL RECORDS SUB-COMMITTEE
HELD ON THE 11TH NOVEMBER, 1942.

PRESENT.

Captain N. Ramsay, M.B.E.—*Member*.Dr. S. N. Sen, M.A., Ph.D., B.Litt.(Oxon.)—*Secretary*.

ABSENT.

Mr. John Sargent, M.A., C.I.E.—*Chairman*.Dr. T. G. P. Spear, M.A., Ph.D.—*Member*.

REPORT.

I. Conspectus of the action taken on the resolutions passed at the sixth meeting of the Local Records Sub-Committee held on the 30th March, 1942.

Resolution 1.—Resolved that action taken on the resolutions be approved.

II. Protection of records against Air Raids.

Resolution 2.—(a) Resolved that the portion marked (a) in item II of the agenda should not be printed in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission.

(b) Resolved that the Rockefeller Institute should not be approached till the Imperial Record Department has got at least one microfilming camera.

(c) Resolved that an enquiry may in the first instance be made of the Provincial Governments about the steps already taken for the safe custody and preservation of records legally belonging to the Central Government.

III. Preservation of treaties.

Resolution 3.—Resolved that the sealed covers of the treaties may be opened and steps may be taken for repairing the treaties, if necessary.

IV. Diploma for training in Archives Keeping.

Resolution 4.—Resolved that the Diploma, in the given form, may be printed. As for the use of the Royal Coat of Arms permission of the Private Secretary to His Excellency should be obtained.

V. Modification of the terms and conditions of the Training Scheme.

Resolution 5.—Resolved that the modifications proposed may be incorporated in the terms and conditions of the Training Scheme and circulated to the Provincial Governments, Indian States, Universities and learned institutions.

VI. Procedure for requisitioning papers from the Imperial Record Department.

Resolution 6.—Resolved that the procedure laid down for requisition of papers should be observed.

(Sd.) N. RAMSAY, *Member.*

B. N. SEN, *Secretary.*

Confirmed.

(Sd.) JOHN SARGENT, *Chairman.*

The Indian Historical Records Commission.

Nineteenth Session—Trivandrum 1942.

LIST OF EXHIBITS.

IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT.

I. EARLY DAYS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

In this section have been arranged several interesting papers illustrating the period during which the East India Company from its position as a band of commercial adventurers rose to be the political sovereign of a substantial portion of India. Although there is a mass of records in the Imperial Record Department dealing with this period, we do not come across an original consultation before 1761. But copies of several interesting collections of papers (Nos. 1, 2 & 3) relating to earlier years, which were obtained from India House, have been included among the exhibits. Attention is also invited to exhibit No. (5) which will prove beyond doubt that the idea of the '*Diwani*' did not originate with Lord Clive, and No. (15) in which we are told of an interesting attempt at the establishment of the "True Religion" on the basis of Maratha-Muslim Co-operation.

1. Copies of letters issued from Hooghly and subordinate factories (Dec. 1680–Nov. 1681) dealing with the early activities of the East India Company (Home Dept. Miscellaneous Records Vol. 2.)

2. J. Wilson's Journal of the Siege of Arcot and Capture of Conjeeveram, 1751 and D. Hallyburton's Journal of the Capture of Madras 1746. (Home Dept. Miscellaneous Records Vol. 15.)

3. Narrative of what passed in the negotiations carried on in London to settle the differences between the English and the French East India Companies on the Coast of Coromandel 1753-54. (Home Dept. Misc. Records No. 65.)

4. Letters to the King of Pegu and his Vizir relating to the mission of Capt Alves with a view to establishing an English Factory in Burma. (Public 28 Sept., 1761. No. 3.)

5. Translation of Shitab Roy's letter to the Governor of Fort William regarding the latter's correspondence with the Imperial Court for obtaining the Diwani on behalf of the East India Company. (Public Cons. 1761 28 Sept. Nos. 1 & 2.)

6. Translation of a letter from the Nabob Mir Kasim to the Governor reporting the receipt of the Phirmaun for the three Provinces from the Emperor of Delhi. (Pub. Cons. 1761 Oct. 12 No. 1.)

7. Translation of Mr. Cartier's letter dated 9th Oct. 1762 to Nawab Mahommad Kashim Ali complaining against the proceedings of the different Sirkdars Chowkidars and Zemindars in stopping English Trade in Dacca. (Pub. Cons. 1763 17 Jany. No. 3.)

8. Copy of Firman from the Mughul Emperor Shah Alam, granting the Diwani of Bengal, Behar and Orissa to the East India Company and the contents of the endorsement on it. (Public 9 Sept. 1765 Nos. 2.)

9. Copy of Firman confirming the Company's Possessions in the Carnatic, written the 24th of Suffer of the 6th year of the Jaloos and the contents of the endorsement. (Public Cons. 1765 9 Sept. No. 10.)

10. A statement of the 50 Lakhs to be paid by Suja Daulah and a statement of King Shah Alam's debt to the East India Company. These statements are in the hand-writing of Lord Clive. (Public Consultation 1765 9 Sept. No. 13.)

11. Copy of a notice regarding the establishment of a gold-currency and coinage of gold mohurs. (Public Cons. 28 July 1766 No. 12.)

12. Letter from the Minister to the King of Rangam (Rangoon) intimating that the King has granted Lord Clive some ground in his city to make a factory and Bankshall to repair and rebuild ships. (Public Cons. 1768 1st Feby. No. 2 (a) 16).

13. Letter to the Director and Council at Chandernagore demanding the complete destruction of the ditch and ramparts under construction at the settlement. (Secret O. C. 30 May Nos. 1, 3, and 4, 1769.)

14. Letter from Captain G. Harper reporting the movements of the Mahrathas and Najib-ud-Daulah stating that the Vazir intends to march an army to the frontier of the King's territory, reporting that grain is dear and that many of the boats have been lost on their way and intimating that two battalions of the Nabobi sepoys have marched to take possession of Cawnpore. (Secret, O. C. 26 May No. 5 1770.)

15. Translation of certain advices to the effect that Ghazi-ud-Din Khan, Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah and several Rohilla chiefs are reported to have agreed to unite their forces for the restoration of the true religion and to ask for the assistance of the Marathas and Najib-ud-daulah. (Secret O. C. 26 May No. 7, 1770.)

16. Complaint from the Director and Council at Chandernagar against the agents of the English at Khirpai, Midnapore, Birbhum etc. for obstructing the French agents from recovering their dues from their debtors with a proposal to desist from levying the duties on clothes made in the factories at Balasore provided the English and the Dutch were agreeable to do the same. (Secret 26 August 1771 No.1.)

17. Letter from the President and Council of Fort St. George stating that the Court of Directors have decided to establish a settlement at Ballambangan and that the *Britannia* has been purchased to carry articles for the eastern markets. (Secret O. C. 29 Jany. 1772 No. 8.)

II. ADMINISTRATION OF WARREN HASTINGS.

For this section a selection has been made of papers dealing with those aspects of Warren Hastings' administration which have received comparatively little notice. It would be interesting to the student of history to note what Hastings did to improve the currency system of the country, (exhibit Nos. 26, 29), to maintain the price level intact by placing an embargo on gold and silver (No. 28), and to introduce some sort of system in the administration of the city of Calcutta (No. 20, 27). Scarcely less interesting are his proposals to open communication with Europe via Suez (No. 25) and to establish a unified Postal system all over British India. It is worthy of note that he attempted to establish the system of paid postage about half a century earlier than the introduction of penny postage in England. (No. 19.)

18. Minute of Warren Hastings re: Md Riza Khan's reception after the latter's arrest at Patna (Secret O. C. 28 April 1772 No. 8.)

19. Warren Hasting's Minute on the better regulation of *dak* by forming a general post office, includes a proposal for the introduction of the system of paid postage. (Public O. C. 17 Jany 1774 Nos. 4-7.)

20. Regulations proposed by the Governor General for a bill for the establishment of an office of Police in the town of Calcutta, (Public O. C. 9 June 1777 No. 4.)

21. Letter from W. Hastings and Richard Barwell to the Court giving scheme of an act of Parliament for demarcation of jurisdiction between Zila Diwani Adalat and the Provincial Council of Revenue in the administration of Justice in Bengal. (Secret O. C. 29 May 1776 No. 12.)

22. Sir Eliza Impey's scheme regarding administration of justice in Bengal. (Secret O. C. 29 May 1776 No. 13.)

23. Minute of Francis, Clavering and Monson criticising the plan submitted by W. Hastings and Barwell for the reform of the administration of justice in Bengal. (Secret O. C. 29 May 1776 No. 16.)

24. Warren Hastings' plan for conciliating different political parties which tried to retard the execution of the treaty of Purandar (Secret O. C. 26 January 1778, No. 4.)

25. W. Hastings' Minute on the proposal of establishing a packet service between India and Suez (Public O. C. 23 March 1778 No. 28.)

26. W. Hastings' proposal for the experiment of a copper currency. (Public O. C. 30th July 1778 No. 8.)

27. W. Hastings' Minute proposing certain regulations for the prevention of the breaking out of fire in the Town of Calcutta. (Public O. C. 27 March 1780 No. 31.)

28. Proposition of the Governor-General prohibiting the exportation of gold and silver. (Public O. C. November 23, 1780 No. 61.)

29. G.-G's Minute regarding the introduction of Paper currency. (Public O. C. 1 May 1780 No. 24.)

30. Letter from Sir Edward Hughes giving an account of his encounter with the French squadron. (Secret O. C. 1 April 1782 No. 1.)

31. A report from French deserter describing the condition of the garrison at Cuddalore consisting of 800 French and 3 battalions of sepoys living on a rationed diet of rice only there being scarcity of provision. (Secret O. C. 3 October 1782 No. 11.)

32. Minute of the Governor-General proposing the despatch of a commission to Tibet for the purpose of opening up communication with the Court of China through that country and recommending Lt. Samuel Turner for the work. (Public O. C. 9 January 1783 No. 3.)

33. Minute of the Governor-General respecting the establishment of a settlement at Acheen. (Public O. C. 19 January 1784 No. 3.)

III. CORNWALLIS AND SHORE.

The major part of Earl Cornwallis's correspondence is available in print. Documents relating to him have, therefore, been omitted from the list with the exception of an interesting collection which contains his correspondence with the Resident with Sindia (exhibit No. 35). As regards Sir John Shore it will be no exaggeration to say that the period of his administration is perhaps one of the most neglected in Indian History. Whatever be the verdict of the historian on his policy of non-interference it can hardly be gainsaid that he is one of the most interesting historical characters. His numerous minutes, of which a representative selection has been made for this section, reveal him as a ruler who took his business very seriously and left a sure stamp of his personality in almost every branch of the administration. It may be noted in this connexion that the Imperial Record Department has undertaken publication of all the minutes of Sir John Shore on behalf of the I. H. R. C.

34. Copies of letters from Earl Cornwallis Governor-General to the Resident with Sindhia. (Foreign Misc. Vol 45.)

35. Minute of the Governor-General relative to fitting out a squadron for the protection of the commercial interest of the country. (Pol. Cons. 4 November 1793 No. 1.)

36. Minute proposing that Lieutenant Wilford may be allowed to remain at Benares in order to prosecute his researches into the geography and history of the Hindus and that he be desired to transmit his map of Upper India. (13 June 1794 Pub. Cons. No. 9.)

37. Minute recording the death of Sir William Jones, deploring his loss and suggesting that all materials left by him for the digest of Hindu and Mahomedan Laws may be asked for from his executors. (2nd May 1794 Pub. Cons. No. 1.)

38. Minute of the Governor-General. Review of the conduct, character and the power of the late Mahadji Sindhia, the influence of his successful ambition on the politics of Hindusthan and its particular effect upon the Nizam and the Poona administration. States the reason advanced for continuing a resident with the successor of Mahadji, submits a statement of the force under Col. De Boigne and several letters from Dowlat Rao and Appa Chittanavese to himself on the subject of Sindiah. (Pol. Cons 7th April No. 2. 1794.)

39. Minute containing a consideration of the measure, which should be adopted by this Government in the event of a war between the Mahrattas and the Nizam. (20 February 1795 Pol. Cons. No. 25.)

40-42. Papers regarding the Nepal Mission of Gajaráj Misser. (1st May 1795 Pol. Cons. 7-16.)

43. Minute suggesting that the Commander-in-Chief should be requested to issue such orders as he deems necessary to prevent the Sikhs entering the Vizier's dominions. (26 June 1795 Pol. Cons. No. 9.)

44. Minute proposing the abolition of the monopoly of the trade of the Laccadive Islands and observations on the agreement between the Bibi and the Malabar Commissioner. (27 July 1795 Pol. Cons. No. 1A.)

45. Minute disapproving the measures adopted by the Government in obtaining the Treaty concluded by them with the Raja of Tanjore and recommending that they be directed to annul the same. (20 June 1796 Pol. Cons. No. 12.)

46. Minute stating the impropriety of the Supreme Government having any communication with the Agent of Sindiah relative to the settlement of succession and expressing the Governor-General's sentiments and to the lines of conduct to be adopted by the Government of India. (21 December 1795 Pol. 55.)

47. The Governor-General enters into a detailed consideration of the measures proper to be pursued for the purpose of deriving advantage from Captain Symes's negotiation, as likewise for establishing the mode of our future intercourse with the King of Ava. (4 January 1796, Pol. O. C. No. 32.)

IV. TERRITORIAL EXPANSION—FROM WELLESLEY TO MOIRA.

Among the most interesting papers in this section special mention may be made of No. 48 (throwing light on the British expedition to Egypt during the Revolutionary War) No. 49 (illuminating a thrilling episode in Amir Khan's stormy career) No. 55 (N. K. Smith's Report on the Sind of the early 19th century) No. 56 (giving an account of the siege of Multan by Ranjit Singh).

48. Letter from Wellesley to Major General Baird, dated the October 15, 1801 regarding the British expedition to Egypt, praising the zeal shewn by the latter in concentrating his forces at Cossier and the diplomatic means by which he influenced the disposition of Sherief of Mecca in the British interest etc. (Secret Cons. 24 December 1801 No. 20.)

49. From Mr. Hawkins, acting Magistrate of Bembres, to John Lumsden, Chief Secretary to Government, proposing the erection of an inscription at Secrole, in memory of Englishmen, massacred

by the Wazir Ali Khan, of Oudh in January 1799. A draft of the text of the inscription in English and Persian versions is enclosed with the letter. (Pol. 21st April 1803, No. 51).

50. A copy of Government advertisement for granting loans in Bombay Presidency. (Pol. 4th May 1803 No. 38.)

51. Bombay Government's letter to the Governor-General re: inexpediency of granting British flags and papers to vessels sailing from Surat not commanded or navigated by British subjects. Encloses statement of the trade at Surat for 1801-2 compared with that of the preceding year (Pol. 4th May 1803 No. 40-41.)

52. Letter from Henry Russell, acting Resident at Hyderabad to Governor-General, prescribing the course of policy to be pursued towards the Court of Hyderabad. (Sec. 26th September 1805, No. 105.)

53. Translation of a paper of intelligence, transmitted by Paundoorung, detailing the action of the 17th ultimo between Amir Khan and the troops of the Raja of Berar. (Pol. 2nd January 1810 No. 14.)

54. Translation of a letter from Subadar of Chamurchi re: the disputed claims of the boundary marks between the Cooch Behar Raja and the Deb Raja of Bhutan. (Pol. 2nd January 1810 No. 77.)

55. A description of Geographical and Commercial importance of different localities in Sind, specially Karachi and Tattah. (Pol. 9th January 1810 No. 40.)

56. Paper regarding the siege of Multan by Ranjit Singh. (Sec. 3rd April 1810 No. 4.)

57. Extracts of several letters from the Honourable Court of Directors regarding the constitutions and rules guiding the Company's Marine. (Pol. 3rd January 1812 No. 7.)

58. Extract from a charter granted to the East India Company by His Majesty King George II in the 31st year of his reign. (Pol. 3rd January 1812 No 15.)

59. Letter from King of Acheen in Portuguese with English translation to Governor-General regarding Military help which he sought from the Government of Pullo Pinang to reduce the inhabitant of Assangan to obedience. (Signature of the King in Malay Script.) (Pol. 3rd January 1812 No. 21)

60. Conference between the Resident at Poona and the Peshwa on the subject of adopting measures for the reduction of the power of the Pindaries. (Pol. 3rd January 1812, No. 50.)

61. Particulars of the history of Garracotta & Bhopal (Pol. 3rd Jan. 1812, No. 55.)

62. Letter to Lt. Col. Fagan, Adjutant General from Secy. to Govt. the failure of the second attempt to take the Fort of Kalunga by Assault & the Governor-General's sentiments on the means of securing the interests of the British Government in the event of an unsuccessful or the protracted warfare with the Gurkhas. (Sec. 21st March 1815 No. 2.)

63. Letter from Adjutant General to John Adam, Secretary to Government stating the measures which His Excellency, the C-in-C. proposes to adopt for an immediate augmentation of force (Sec. 21st March, 1815 No. 3).

V. EXPERIMENTS IN FORWARD POLICY AND BENTHAMITE LIBERALISM.

64. Reports of the Committee appointed by the Government for public instruction in India. 1823 (Foreign Misc. No. 178.)

65. Proclamation dt. Fort William the 5th March 1824 declaring the Kingdom of Ava as an Enemy country. (Secret. O. C. 5 March 1824 No. 2).

66. Letter from Acting Magistrate of Chittagong giving a sketch of the peculiarities observable in the Mugs in order to enable Government to Judge how far they can be instrumental in forming an independent State in Arracan. (Secret. O. C. 12 March 1824 No. 25.)

67. Letter from Captain H. Burney envoy to the Court of Siam reporting the result of his Mission to that Kingdom. (Secret, O. C. 1 Dec. 1826 No. 13.)

68. Letter from Captain White, Officiating Magistrate, Lower Assam giving a plan for the administration of Justice in that province. (Secret, 25 July 1828 No. 3.)

69. Letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government of India, from Governor-General's Agent for Sind, reporting a proposal received from Mir Ali Murad of Mirpour to enter into a treaty with the Company regarding the navigation of the Indus. (Pol. Cons. 23rd January 1835 No. 38.)

70. Letter from Dost Muhummad Khan to the Governor-General, stating that he and the Afghans intend to proceed against Ranjit Singh owing to his having made an invasion and taken possession of Peshwar. (Pol. Cons. 23rd March 1835 No. 27.)

71. Extracts from the proceeding of Fort St. George regarding the question as to whether the rule of International law which may be laid down by the Government of India for observance with respect to Hyderabad State should also be observed with respect to the States of Travancore and Cochin. (Pol. Cons. 18th July 1838 No. 210).

72. Minute of the Commander-in-Chief regarding the augmentation of Indian infantry, both European and Native officers, in view of the deterioration of Military reserve of India, as a result of wars and disturbances in Afganisthan. (Sec. Cons. 1st March 1840/41 No. 1).

73. Proclamation issued by the Raja of Satara abolishing Sati rite and making the Company's rupees current within his territory. (Pol. Cons. 8th January 1840 Nos. 18-19).

74. Correspondence regarding the deputation of Sayyid Muhimmad Jaffer Shah from the Court of Amirs of Sind to the Government of Bombay. (Sec. Cons. 4th May 1840 Nos. 29-31).

75. Papers received from Munshi Mohan Lal at Cabul narrating the history of Afghanistan (1837-42) specially the origin and fate of the Mission of Sir Alexander Burnes to the Court of Dost Muhammad. (Sec. Cons. 28th December 1842 Nos. 480-82).

76. Papers regarding the selection of a competent person to undertake the work of Geological examination of the Salt Range and of the Hills to the North of the Punjab with a view to ascertain the real nature and extent of their mineral products. Minute of Lord Dalhousie on the same. (Foreign Cons. 11 Oct. 1856 Nos. 209-210).

77. Proclamation regarding the annexation of Oudh territories by the E. I. Company and the detailed reasons for the annexation of the same. (Pol. Cons. 6 June 1856 Nos. 189-190).

VI. INDIA UNDER THE CROWN—IMPERIALISM AND RECONSTRUCTION.

78. Minute by the Honourable the Lieutenant Governor Bengal on the admissibility of boys of low caste into any of the Government Schools. (Public Progs 5 Feby. 1858 Nos. 9-12).

79. Telegraph from Allahabad of 17 March 1858 communicating the news of the day, operations of the army in Lucknow. Movements of the Nana. Arrival of the rebels at Futtyghar. (Public Cons. 19th March 1858, No. 36).

80. Educational policy pursued in the N. W. Provinces. Report by Mr. H. S. Reid, Director of Public Instructions in the N. W. Provinces and memorandum by Chapman, bringing to light the objection of the Court of Directors to make education obligatory in the case of Indian Children. (Public Cons. 17 Dec. 1858 Nos. 12/15).

81. Minute by His Excellency the Right Honourable Governor-General, dated the 2nd July 1850, on the services rendered by civil officers and others during the Mutiny and rebellion of 1857-58. (Foreign Cons. 8 July 1859, No. 1).

82. Papers recording the views of the Madras Government regarding the probability of a tax on tobacco and the practicability of increasing the duty on salt. The collection contains a minute by Sir Charles Trevelyan on the impolicy of imposing the proposed taxes and on the measures whereby he considered that the finances of India might be relieved from their existing embarrassment without any new taxation. (Pub. Cons. 22nd Dec. 1859, Nos. 16/19).

83. The views of Elphinstone, Malet, Reeves and J. P. Grant on the Minute of Sir Charles Trevelyan in the working of the relations between the Supreme and Subordinate Governments as established by the acts of 1833 and 1853. (Public Cons. 8 Sept. 1860, Nos. 9-18).

84. Minutes recorded by the President and Members of the Council on the constitution of the Council of the Governor-General, executive and legislative and local governments of the presidencies. (Home. Pub. Progs 31 Jan. 1861 Nos. 76-80).

85. Rev. John Murdocks, (Educational Agent in India, Christian Vernacular Society) pamphlet on the duty of Government with respect to vernacular literatures of India and for collection of Educational statistics. (Home. Pub. Progs 22 Jan. 1866, Nos. 48-51).

86. A description of famine in Bengal, Orissa and Ganjam and the measures taken by the Government to afford relief to the sufferers. (Home. Pub. Progs Aug. 1866, Nos. 31 A-34).

87. Correspondence on the subject of arrangements to be made for a General Census of British India in 1871. These papers include extracts from Despatches of Court and the production of the Govt. of Bengal, touching several interesting topics, specially the early attempt and failure of the Govt. to take a Census in 1861 & the familiarising the people with the idea of Census. (Home. Pub. Progs. 22nd. May 1869, Nos. 79-90).

88. Papers regarding the establishment of model farms in Cantonments for the utilisation of sewage therein. Include

memorandum of Lt. W. G. Murray on the proposed establishment of an Agricultural College in the N. W. Provinces. (Home. Pub. Progs 7 June 1871, Nos. 139-53).

89. Papers regarding the protest of the Calcutta High Court against a Censure which has been passed by the Govt of Bengal on the conduct of Balaram Mallick, Munsiff of Cutwa. They include some important discussion like the power of Superintendence of Calcutta High Court over the subordinate Courts in appellate jurisdiction. (Home Pub. Progs June 1874, Nos. 177-181).

90. Resolution of the Governor-General in Council on the memorials of the Hindu inhabitants of Dacca & Backergunge for the abolition of polygamy prevalent among the Kulin Brahmins of Bengal. The Resolution clearly shows the reluctance of the Govt. to interfere with the social customs of the country. (Home Pub. Progs June 1875, Nos. 99-100).

91. Discussions regarding the Bill to consolidate and amend the laws relating to the Govt. of India. A draft of the Bill is enclosed. (Home. Pub. Progs Feb. 1876, No. 93).

92. Rules and orders for the transaction of business in the Council of the Governor-General. (Home Pub. Progs April 1876, No. 155).

93. Resolution defining the relation between the Govt. and the Presidency banks and desiring that any language or nomenclature which may tend to obscure these relations should be disused. (Home Pub. Progs June 1877, No. 263).

94. Papers dealing with the question of reviving the practice of appointing Kazis for the registration of Muhammadan marriages and divorce in Madras Presidency and of the effects produced by the Act 11 of 1864 which abolished the office of Kazis. (Home Pub. Progs. December 1879, Nos. 185-189).

95. Papers regarding the release of female convict Ram Kaur, who was sentenced to transportation for life and the question of re-marriage of female convicts at Port Blair while their free husbands were living. (Home. Pub. Progs Feb. 1880, Nos. 63-64).

VII. RECORDS RELATING TO THE STATE OF TRAVANCORE.

The Imperial Record Department has in its custody a mass of documents relating to the history of the Indian States, the major portion of which has not yet been utilised. The list given below, which is necessarily illustrative, contains documents illuminating

80. Educational policy pursued in the N. W. Provinces. Report by Mr. H. S. Reid, Director of Public Instructions in the N. W. Provinces and memorandum by Chapman, bringing to light the objection of the Court of Directors to make education obligatory in the case of Indian Children. (Public Cons. 17 Dec. 1858 Nos. 12/15).

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one or other aspect of the history of Travancore. Special attention is invited in this connexion to Nos. 98, 107, 108, 110, 113, 115, and 119. Several Persian records relating to the State have been included in the Oriental languages section.

96. Letter from Raja Rama Varma expressing his uneasiness at the report of Tipu Sultan's advance towards Kummam Colan and Palacuchery on the border of his Kingdom. (Secret O. C. 27 May 1788, No. 4).

97. Letter from Capt. Bannerman to the Honourable John Holland, dated 20-2-1789, stating that the Raja of Travancore intends to reorganise his army in view of the apprehended attack by Tipu Sultan. (Secret O. C. 18 March 1789, No. 2).

98. Letter from Resident at Travancore giving the full Report of the conversation which took place between the Raja of Travancore and the Vakil of Tipu Sultan. (Secret O. C. 20 Jany 1790, No. 2).

99. Answer of Raja of Travancore to Tipu Sultan justifying the measures he took in giving shelter to the Raja of Calicut and fortifying the boundaries of his Kingdom. (Secret O. C. 27 Jany. 1790, No. 14).

100. Letter from Raja of Travancore (29 December 1789) stating his intention to defend the fort of Cranganore against Tipu Sultan as asking for military help from the Company. (Secret O. C. 27 Jany. 1790, No. 25).

101. Minute of the Governor-General relative to the proposition of Raja of Travancore for entering into an alliance with the Company. (Political O. C. 25 Sept. 1795, No. 8).

102. Instructions issued to the Honourable Mr. Jonathan Duncan for settling the terms of a perpetual alliance with the Raja of Travancore. (Political O. C. 25 Sept. 1795, No. 9).

103. Letter from Lt. Col. Macaulay reporting the act of treachery committed by Velu Tampi the Diwan of Travancore in attacking the residency and the measures taken by him to foil the Diwan. (Secret Consultation 23 Jany. 1809, No. 30).

104. Letter from Lt. Col. Macaulay regarding the disaffection of Velu Tampi and enclosing Col. Daly's Report on the latter's final parleys with the rebel Diwan. A critical note on this document by the Secretary, I. H. R. C. has been included in the agenda for the public meeting of the session. (Secret Cons, 10 April 1809 No. 3).

105. Letter from J. Munro, Resident at Travancore regarding the claim of the Ellia Raja to the Musnad of Travancore as against that of Gauri Lakshmi Bayee with enclosures dealing with the rules of succession and adoption obtaining in the Travancore State. (Pol. Cons. 9 Feby. 1811, No. 16 -21).

106. Letter from the Resident at Travancore with enclosures on the subject of the proposed contract for the supply of Jaffna-pattam Tobacco from Ceylon for the use of Travancore. (Pol. Cons. 19 June. 1812, No. 1).

107. Letter from Resident at Travancore relating to the situation in the State following the death of Ranee Gauri Lakshmi Bayee and paying a tribute to her liberality, her affability to all who approached her and her constant solicitude for the welfare of the people. (Pol. Cons. 10 Jan'y. 1815, No. 2).

108. Letter from Rannee Gauri Parvati Bayee of Travancore (dated 29 March 1818) relative to the benefits which her country has derived from the exertions of Major Munro including a resume of the administrative history of the State during the residency of Munro. (Pol. Cons. 7 Aug. 1818, Nos. 1—2).

109. Report from W. Morison, Resident at Travancore on the expediency of reducing the subsidiary force stationed in Travancore. (Political Consultation 23 July 1830, No. 15).

110. Information supplied by W. Morison in response to letter from Chief Secretary, Fort St. George (dated 24 Nov. 1829) regarding the administrative system of Travancore and Cochin. (Pol. Cons. 23 July 1830, No. 16.)

111. Letter from Governor of Ceylon submitting copies of Col. Colebrooke's report on the question of monopoly of Tobacco in the State of Travancore and observing that though averse to any relaxation of the monopoly the Travancore Government is willing to take a greater proportion of Tobacco from Jaffna, soliciting that the Raja of Travancore may be informed the readiness of the Ceylon Government to reduce export duty on condition that the Travancore Government were willing to take it in greater quantities. (Pol. Cons. 11 Feb. 1835, Nos. 17—19.)

112. Letter from the Resident at Travancore reporting on the measures pursued by the Raja Rama Varma in directing the administration of the country stating the results of a tour enquiry into the provinces made by Subba Rao the Diwan of Travancore with observations on the resignation tendered by the Diwan. (Pol. Cons. 27 July 1835, No. 109.)

113. Letter from the Resident at Travancore addressed to Subba Rao the Diwan of Travancore requesting him to undertake a tour into the province of Travancore and the report drawn up by the Diwan on the result of the tour undertaken by him. (Pol. Cons. 27 July 1835, No. 110.)

114. Extract from a Letter, dated 28 April 1836, from the Resident at Travancore stating it to be the wish of that Government to abolish the transit duties in that State. (Pol. Cons. 6 June 1836, No. 8.)

115. Memorandum on the collection of transit duties in Travancore in the Malabar year 1010 (1834-35. A. D.) enclosed with the Resident's letter, dated 28 April 1836. (Pol. Cons. 6 June 1836, No. 9.)

116. Memoir on the survey of Yeddawuggay a region lying partly in Cochin and partly in Travancore with tables of Kana Sumari and Darajadda. (Pol. Cons. 19 Oct. 1842, No. 180.)

117. Letter from Chief Secretary, Fort. St. George, submitting a report of the proceedings in Travancore and Cochin relative to the abolition of slavery and soliciting a full consideration of the question by the Legislature. (Pol. Cons. 5 April 1855, Nos. 32-33.)

118. Papers regarding the Abolition by the Raja of Travancore of the pepper monopoly in that State, including a letter by the Diwan T. Madhava Rao to the Resident at Travancore on the subject. (For. Progs. Dec. 1860, Nos. 55/56. Part A.)

119. Papers regarding Interportal Convention with the States of Travancore and Cochin including the interesting correspondence which passed between the Diwan T. Madhava Rao and Mr. H. Newill, Offg. Resident on the subject. (For. Progs. March 1871/72, Nos. 1/5 Pol. B.)

120. Papers regarding the salt arrangements made with Travancore and Cochin. This collection includes the correspondence of A. Seshia Sastri, the Dewan of Travancore and T. Shungoony Menon, the Dewan of Cochin on the subject. (For. Progs. Oct. 1877, Nos. 19/24 Revenue B.)

121. Papers relative to the contribution from the Maharaja of Travancore towards famine relief in Bengal including a letter from Maha Raja Rama Varma to Lord North Brook at 25-9-1874 in original bearing the Maharaja's signature. (For. Progs. Oct. 1874, Nos. 114/115 General B.)

VIII. RECORDS RELATING TO ANTHROPOLOGY, NATURAL HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, SCIENTIFIC EXPLORATIONS AND TOPICS OF SPECIAL INTEREST.

The object of exhibiting the papers listed below is to draw the attention of the public to a comparatively neglected section of the Central Archives. A cursory glance at the exhibits will reveal that the records of the Central Government do not merely deal with matters of interest to the student of political or administrative history but also with those that will have a ready appeal to the student of ethnography, religions, languages, natural history or scientific exploration and to the worker in the sister branches of studies connected with India. Indeed, it will be no exaggeration to say that no serious documented study of any aspect of the history, peoples, cultures and intellectual or political life of India can be regarded as complete before it has laid this unique collection under the fullest contribution.

122. Captain Brodies' report on a tour through the Western Naga hills containing interesting anthropological information about the locality. (Foreign Cons. dt. 19th October 1844, No. 123.)

123. Captain Brodies' report (29 March 1844) on the flora of the Naga hills with a list of plants met with by him in the course of his tour. (Foreign Consultation dt. 19 October 1844 No. 125.)

124. Major R. Leech's note on the Hindui dialect of Bundelkhund, 1844. (Foreign Miscellaneous No. 350.)

125. Papers relating to the scientific expedition proposed to be undertaken by Col. E. Smyth to Chinese Tartary including the correspondence of the Government with Col. Smyth and the Asiatic Society, Bengal on the subject. The collection also include a memorandum on the plan of the expedition. (Foreign Dept. Progs. May 1861, Part A, Nos. 244/50.)

126. Papers relating to the affairs of Adolphe Schlagentweit of the Magnetic survey who was murdered in Yarkand, contain a detailed memorandum on the circumstances leading to the tragic incident throwing a flood of light on the last days of the illustrious explorer. (Foreign Dept. Progs June 1861 Nos. 406/8).

127. Instructions for the guidance of the Director General of Archaeological Survey of India (affording a glimpse into the beginning of the archaeological work under Government patronage.) (Pub. Progs. 18 February, Nos. 28-29, 1871.)

128. Prospectus of a grammar of the languages of the Vedas by Dr. Theodor Benfey, Member of the Royal Society of Science in Gottingen and corresponding Member of the Institute of France in Paris and of Imperial Academy of Science in Vienna. (Pub. Progs. 8 July 1871, Nos. 5-6.)

129. Captain Mackenzie's account of the dying dialects of the Barar Hills, viz., the dialects of the Gonds, the Koorkoos and the Nihals (Public Progs. May 1873, 409-411 A.)

130. Captain Lane's report on the Manbhows a monotheist sect of the Deccan including a detailed description of their habits, their organisation, their religious and moral doctrines, etc. (Public Progs. June 1874, Nos. 115-116.)

131. Employment of Lt. Col. W. E. Marshall to make researches amongst the races inhabiting the Western Himalayas. (Public Progs. January 1874, Nos. 314-318.)

132. Report by Ronald Thomson on the Turkoman tribes occupying the districts between the Caspian and the Oxus dt. 29 February 1876. (For. Dept. Secret Progs. August 1877, Nos. 141/144.)

133. Gazetteer operations in Central India. (For. Dept. General Progs. September 1877, Nos. 215/217.)

134. Papers relating to the restoration of the temple of Bodh Gaya including the memorandum by Cunningham dt. 17-10-78 on the subject. (Public Progs. November 1878, No. 228.)

IX. RECORDS IN ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.

One of the most valued possessions of the Imperial Record Department is a rich collection of documents in Oriental Languages. Its collection of Persian Political letters has been surveyed and calendared up to the year 1787 and the Delhi University has agreed to publish the series of Persian news-letters in its custody. [A volume has also recently been published by the Calcutta University containing about 200 Bengali letters from the Department's collection and the publication of the Marathi letters in its possession has been taken up by the Bharata Itibasa Samshodhaka Mandala. The Gurumukhi letters are being scrutinised and a number of letters in Hindi, Sanskrit, Arabic, Burmese, Tibetan, Kanarese and Chinese are awaiting examination. A representative collection of these papers is listed below:—

A. PERSIAN LETTERS.

135. From Mirza Ghulam Uraiz Jafari and Muhammed Baquarul Husain, sons of Nawab Mir Qasim Ali Khan to Mons. Chevalier—State that their father died of dropsy at Shahjahanabad on the last day of *Rabi* 1191 A. H. (7 June, 1777) in great misery. Beg his support and protection. Desire to see him personally but being penniless they are unable to do so. Request monetary help to enable them to wait on him. Bear the seal of Mirza Ghulam Uraiz Jafari. (Received 25 December, 1778, No. 164.)

136. Letter from Fath Singh Gaekwar, Chief of Baroda ; to Mr. Macpherson, received May, 23, 1787. Congratulates him on his appointment to the office of the Governor-General. Hopes for his favour and support. Bears a seal. (Received 23 May, 1787, No. 263.)

137. Letter from Fath Singh Gaekwar, to Mr. James Anderson. Is delighted to learn that Mr. Anderson has promised to represent properly his case when negotiation takes place with the Peshwa. Hopes that his share of Broach Mahal should be released in his favour. (Received 23rd May 1787 No. 265.)

138. From Shah Alam (King). Commands the Governor General to send military aid for the suppression of the Rohillas. On the top is the King's autograph in pencil. (Received 4 October 1787 No. 503).

139. From Ali Ibrahim Khan, Judge at Benares. Reports that the Marattas have released Shah Alam from the room in which he was confined by Ghulam Quadir Khan after having been blinded by him. (Received 24 October, 1788, No. 501.)

140. From Madho Rao Sindhia. Requests that Nawab Vazir may be asked to restore the salary and *Jagir* of Mir Muhammed Amjad, an officer of Nawab Vazir, who has been rendering good service to Hindu pilgrims from the Deccan. (Received 14 August, 1790, No. 204.)

141. From Tipu Sultan. In reply to Governor General's offer to send to the Sultan's Camp the corpse of Bahadur Khan who fell fighting gallantly at Bangalore, says that the body may be handed to the local Musalmans for burial. Bears the seal of the Sultan. (Received 23rd March 1791, No. 78.)

142. From the Raja of Travancore to Lord Cornwallis. Congratulates him on the capture of the fort of Magdi. Bears signature and seal of the Raja. (Received 13 February, 1792, No. 125.)

143. From the Raja of Travancore to Lord Cornwallis. Has received his Lordship's letter desiring that all prisoners of war from the army of Tipu Sultan in his country should be released in accordance with the treaty concluded with him. Says in reply that all the Prisoners of war have been released, and there is none under detention. Bears signature and seal of the Raja. (Received 9th December 1792, No. 547.)

144. From the Raja of Travancore to Sir John Shore. Is sorry that he cannot supply the stipulated quantity of black pepper due to the poor crop of the year. Bears signature and seal of the Raja. (Received 20th May 1795, No. 119.)

145. From Nana-Farnavis. Reports that Madho Rao II, Peshwa, died on 13 Rabi 11 (27 October) in consequence of the injuries received from a fall from his balcony. Bears Nana's seal. (Received 23rd November 1795, No. 353.)

146. From Daulat Rao Sindhia. Says that Rao Baji Rao, the elder son of Raghunath Rao has been installed Peshwa in succession to Madho Rao who is dead. Nana-Farnavis would not agree to the measure out of selfish motives but had to acquiesce when he found that none of the chiefs would support him. (Received 9th September 1796, No. 328.)

147. From Nizam Ali Khan, Nizam of Hyderabad. Intimates that he has made over to Captain Kirkpatrick copies of the correspondence which passed between him and Tipu Sultan. Bears the seal of the Nizam. (Received 10th February 1799, No. 19.)

148. The Raja of Nepal. Congratulates the Governor-General on the success of the English fleet in Egypt. Has noted with pleasure that the Sultan of Turkey and the Czar of Russia have joined the English as active allies. Bears the Raja's seal. (Received 28th September 1799, No. 286.)

149. From Sultan Muhiuddin, Son of Tipu Sultan. Thanks the Governor-General for the *Khilat* and jewels received through Captain Marriot who is to stay with him at the fort of Vellore until the return of Col. Doveton from Chinapatan (Madras). Is much obliged to him, his Council and Col. Doveton for their uniform courtesy and attention. (Received 19th October 1799, No. 329.)

150. From Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala to the Governor-General received 15th October 1801. Expresses gratification at the receipt of a reply to his letter from His Lordship regarding his attachment and devotion to the British Government. (Persian O. R., 1801, No. 254.) The border is illuminated with decorative motifs in gold.

151. Letter (in Burmese with Persian translation) from the King of Pegu. Requests that 5000 *Visas* of Saltpetre and 200 guns may be sent to him. (Received March, 1809, No. 233.) The border is richly illuminated with floral decorations.

152. From the Raja of Travancore to Lord Minto. Is glad to learn from His Lordship's letter that he intends to visit his State. Bears signature and seal of the Raja. (Received 13th November 1809, No. 848.) The letter is covered all over with floral decorations.

153. From Muhammad Azim Khan, Subadar of Kashmir, to the Governor-General received 18th September 1813. Requests that a British force may be sent to co-operate with him in order to punish Raja Ranjit Singh. (Persian O. R. 1813 No. 406.) The letter is artistically illuminated with floral patterns in gold and blue.

154. From Rana Bhagwant Singh. Complimentary. Congratulating him (Baron Auckland) on his safe arrival at Calcutta on 4th March 1836. (Received 19th June 1836.) With exquisitely illuminated borders and top in multicolour.

B. RECORDS IN OTHER ORIENTAL LANGUAGES.

155. Letters (in Marathi with Persian Translation) from Apaji Sobaji agent of Maharaja Mahadaji Sindia to Warren Hastings received May 12th, 1779. Says that William Hornby, the Governor of Bombay has been guilty of violating the treaty concluded between the English and the Peshwa. Prays that in general interest of the parties concerned the Governor should be directed to abide by the treaty and to consider its observance a sacred obligation. (Pers. Letter received 12th May 1799, No. 83.)

156. Letters (in Marathi) from Tulaji, Raja of Tanjore to the Governor-General, received July 2nd, 1786. Assures the Governor-General of his faithfulness and sincerity towards the English Company. Proposes the ways and means for the liquidation of his balances due to the Company. Complains against the atrocities of the Nawab of Arcot and solicits protection from him. Bears the Raja's seal on the envelope. (Persian Letter received 2nd July 1786, No. 48.)

157. Letters from the Teshu Lama to the Governor-General received June 28th, 1793. Narrates the particulars of the campaign against Nepal and notifies the subsequent conclusion of peace. Expresses satisfaction at the contents of his letter. Desires that

the Chinese language of Lhasa may be the medium of Communication between them. Bears a seal. (Persian Letter received 28th June 1793, No. 305.)

158. Letter (in Oriya) from the Raja of Boade in Orissa to the Commissioner at Cuttack, received April 23rd, 1804. Says that he would acknowledge no authority other than the English as his overlord. (Persian Letter received 23rd April 1804, No. 218.)

159. A Letter (in Kanarase) from Vira Rajendra Odeyar, Raja of Coorg to Lord Minto informing him about his desire to settle the succession to his throne according to seniority on his first wife's four daughters or their male children and acknowledging Governor-General's letter dated 19th October 1807. (No date is mentioned.)

160. General Ochterlony forwards for the consideration of the Governor-General a letter in Sanskrit from Amar Singh Thappa with Persian Translation. (Persian Letter received 4th January 1815, No. nil.)

161. Letter (in Burmese) from the Viceroy of Pegu. Says that a certain vessel of Padao Miozage which sailed from Pegu for Bengal met with bad weather, at sea and lost its masts, yards, etc. and got the damages repaired. Requests that the cargo of the vessel may be sold at the current price of Bengal for the purpose of defraying the repair charges and that should the proceeds of the sale be insufficient for the purpose, the vessel may be allowed to return to Pegu. The balance due shall be paid by the writer (the Viceroy) himself. Dated Rangoon 2nd February 1809. (Persian Letters received 6th March 1809, No. 180.)

162. Letter in Bengali from Rani Marichmati the aunt of Nazir Deo, to the Governor-General Lord Cornwallis. Complains against the various oppression committed by Sarbananda Gosain, the Rajguru of Kuch Bihar on Nazir Deo's family. (Persian Letter received 9th March 1787, No. 134.)

163. Copy of a letter (in Hindi) sent to the four Jaghirdars of Sarguja desiring them not to render assistance to Sungram Sing but to Lala Juggar Nath Sing. The Collection also includes (1) copy of a letter from Duljeet Singh Jaghirdar of Paul to Jaggernath Singh stating the arrival of the forces against the Maharaja and that the writer has no concern whatever with this circumstance. (2) Copy of a letter from Laul Omraw Sing Jaghirdar of Mohra to Jaggernath Singh Lala stating that Pargana Jahawellee has been taken possession of through 40 horse, and containing several other matters. (Persian Letter received 20 Jan'y 33)

164. Letter (in Gurmukhi) dated Jeth 10 Sam 1835. From Bhai Atma Singh, Ganda Singh, Amolak Singh, Gurmukh Singh Bhag Singh and all Khalsa Ji to Dadhu Singh, Abhai Singh and all Sikhs residing in Calcutta. (Persian Letter received dated nil.)

X ILLUMINATED MSS. AND OTHER CURIOSITIES.

(See also exhibits No. 150-154)

165. An old water colour painting of a white elephant found in South India. This was to be presented to the King of Ava, Burma. The painting which was in a state of decay has been thoroughly repaired by the Preservation Branch of the Imperial Record Department (Pol. Cons. 13 March, 1837 No. 1).

166. Letter in Tibetan from the Dharmaraja of Bhutan received 6 April, 1837. Artistically illuminated borders containing the figures of dragons, conchshells, and Naga couple and floral decorative motifs. (Persian Letter received 6th April 1837.)

167. Letter in Tibetan addressed to Mr. Trevelyan dated 27 Nov., 1836, with illuminated borders containing the same floral motifs in colour as in the preceding exhibit as well as figures of dragons conchshells and Kinnara couple. The decorations represent very rare specimens of late Indo-Tibetan style of painting. (Persian Letter received 14 April, 1837.)

168. Persian illuminated Manuscripts showing different styles of Calligraphy (19 folios)—being a story in Persian. Name of work and writer unknown. (incomplete.)

169. Treaty with King Christian VIII of Denmark for transferring the Danish settlements in India to the English dated 22 Feby, 1845. (In English. In a red velvet cover with a seal of the King of Denmark in a silver box.)

XI. SPECIMENS OF REPAIRING WORK DONE IN THE IMPERIAL RECORD DEPARTMENT.

170. Manuscripts illustrating the evil effects of repairing documents with white tracing paper. (H. D. Pub—9th October 1806, No. 35.)

171. The tracing papers were subsequently peeled off and repaired with chiffon (H. D. Pub., 11th November 1782, No. 6.)

172. Specimen of repair with Japanese tissue paper. (Pol. Cons. 14th March 1823, No. 45.)

173. Specimen of a chiffon repair. (Pol. Cons. 29 March, 1823, No. 33.)

174. Document laminated with cellulose acetate foil (done by the National Archives, Washington, U. S. A.) [Pol. Cons. 2nd June, 1825, No. 24 (12 sheets.)] No. 175. A repaired manuscript volume illustrating how the isolated sheets of damaged volumes can be mended and made up into sections with guards to have a durable and flexible binding. (Beng. Pub. Cons., 1758, Sl. No. 9.)

176. A book exhibited as a fine specimen of inlaying work. (This book was hopelessly damaged by larvae.) (Annals of the College of Fort William.)

Exhibits from Punjab.

FROM THE PUNJAB RECORD OFFICE.

1. Holograph report by Sir Herbert Edwardes dated the 15th October 1846 on his negotiations with the Envoys of Sheikh Imam-ud-Din, Governor of Kashmir.

2. Original Warrant for the confinement of the Prema Conspirators in the Delhi Jail, dated the 1st October 1847.

3. Proceedings of a meeting of the Board of Administration, Punjab held on the 17th December 1849 to arrange a division of work between the members.

4. An interesting review of the military situation on the 21st June 1857 by General Nicholson.

5. Original Warrant for the execution of the Nawab of Ferozepur Jhirka for complicity in the murder of Mr. Fraser, dated the 29th September 1835.

6. Letter from Sir John Lawrence to Lord Canning, dated the 14th August 1858.

7. Letter from Maharaja Dalip Singh to Sir John Lawrence dated the 4th September 1854.

8. Autographs of European Officers in the service of Maharaja Ranjit Singh: (a) General Avitabile, (b) General Court, (c) *Gorman* alias Gordon and (d) W. H. Campbell.

9. Signature of Maharaja Sher Singh in English.

10. Persian copy of the Tripartite Treaty of 1838.

11. Parwanah of the Sikh times granting a *Jagir*.

12. Specimen of an old *Jagir Sanad* of 1853.

13. Mutiny *Jagir* signed by Sir John Lawrence.

14. Copy of the final receipt for the purchase of Kashmir by Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu, dated the 30th March 1850, signed by the president and members of the Board of Administration, Punjab.

15. Office copy of the Treaty of March 1855 between the British Government and Amir Dost Muhammed Khan of Kabul.

JODHPUR STATE

1. A photograph of a letter, dated 11th day of the dark half of Vaisakh V. S. 1775, of Maharana Sargrainsingh of Udaipur, addressed to Maharaja Ajitsingh of Jodhpur, congratulating him for installing Rafiuddarjat on the throne of Delhi and getting removed the tax called 'Jazia' imposed on Hindus and the restrictions at their sacred places.

2. A photograph of a letter of Maharana Arsi (Arisingh) of Udaipur, dated 11th day of the dark half of Vaisakh V. S. 1827, addressed to Maharaja Bijayasingh of Jodhpur for presenting him (Bijayasingh) the district of Godwar and requesting for an early help to subdue the internal intrigues of Mewar.

3. A photograph of another letter of Maharana Arsi (Arsingh) of Udaipur, dated 12th day of the dark half of Vaisakh V. S. 1827, addressed to Maharaja Bijayasingh of Jodhpur thanking the Maharaja for his letter and reminding for an early help.

4. Two photographs of an old Imperial Sanad, dated 9th Jamadi-ul-Akhir, 17th year of his reign, (i. e. 7th August 1775 A. D.), granted by emperor Shah Alam II to Maharaja Bijaysingh of Jodhpur, mentioning the grant of Raisina (New Delhi) as the hereditary Jagir to the said Maharaja.

5. A photograph of a letter of Maharaja Ajitsingh of Jodhpur, dated 11th day of the dark half of Jyeshtha, 1775 V. S. (i. e. 4th May 1719 A. D.), relating to the murder of Emperor Farrukhsiyar and getting removed the 'Jaziya' and the restrictions on the Hindu pilgrim places.

6. A photograph of a letter of Maharaja Abhayasingh of Jodhpur, dated 2nd day of the dark half of Kartik, 1787 V. S. (i. e. 16th October 1730 A. D.), relating to the defeat of Sarbulandkhan, the Governor of Gujrat by the Maharaja.

7. A photograph of a letter of Maharaja Abhayasinghji of Jodhpur, dated the 13th day of the bright half of Vaishakh, 1788 V. S. (i. e. 26th April 1732 A. D.), relating to the murder of

Pilaji (Rao) Gayakwar of Baroda, and capture of Bhadrva, Baroda, Kandali, etc.

8. A photograph of a peculiar image of Shiv, (called Apeshvar Mahadev, belonging to the 12th century A. D.) in a village named Rainsin in Jaswantpura District of Jodhpur.

DECCAN COLLEGE, POONA

Sixteen Documents meant for exhibition at the Indian Historical Records Commission to be held at Trivandrum.

(CONCERNING NAZARBAR IN KHANDESH.)

Sixteen documents joined together in the form of a scroll in Persian preserved at the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, deal with grants of land and money to Sayyid Abdul Ghafur, Sh. Abdur Rasul, Sh. Yusuf, Sh. Ismail, Sh. Muhammad, and others residents of Sarkar Nazarbar in the province of Khandezh for services as muazzans of the town and to descendants of Qutub Actab Muhammad Fazlulla. These documents belong to the period of Aurangzeb, Shah 'Alam, Farrukh Siyar and Muhammad Shah.

Note : Dr. M. A. Chaghtai, a representative of Deccan College Postgraduate & Research Institute, Poona, has already submitted a detailed paper on these documents and he is going to read it before the Commission.

ANNAMALAI UNIVERSITY

DETAILS OF MANUSCRIPTS SENT.

Sanskrit.

1. Mimamsa Sutrārtha Samgraha—Paramesvaran—Transcript in paper containing 129 pages.
2. Kuvalayanandan Vakhya—Budharanjani—Transcript in paper, 219 pages.

Tamil.

3. Sangitaprattaram, 21 pages, palmleaf manuscript.
4. Sivagnana Siddhiar, 199 pages do.
5. Yuhamuni Vadam (1200), 124 pages do.
6. Tirukkural Paripperumal Commentary Vol. 2—125 sheets paper manuscript.
7. do. do. do. Vol. 3—84 sheets paper manuscript.

COCHIN STATE

DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF DOCUMENTS.

Central Records.

1. *Dutch and Portuguese letters.*

The original letters are written on very picturesque hand-made papers and are selected from those in the Central Records Office. English translations are also appended for easy reference. The period covered is from 1700 A. D. to 1800 A. D.

2. *Untranslated Portuguese letters.* (Ca. 1760 A. D. to 1800 A. D.)

These are the original letters sent by the Portuguese or Paranki Captains of ships belonging to the Cochin Raja.

3. *Arabic Manuscript (Untranslated).*

The date and contents are unknown.

4. *Treaties between Cochin and Travancore in the 18th Century*
A. D.

Photographic reproduction of the original Ōlas which form the basis of these treaties.

5. *Bamboo Records (Vatteluthu)* with transliteration.

The contents are merely lease-deeds belonging to the 17th century. The script and the material used are interesting.

6. *Copper Plate (Vatteluthu, 17th Century).*

The plate carries the Sign Manual of the Perumpatappu Swaroopam. The Sign Manual is also seen in the Paliam copper plates.

7. *Collection of Coins* from the State Museum.

Exhibits from private Collections.

8. *Paliam Copper Plates.* (Vatteluthu—17th Century)

The contents have been fully discussed by the late Mr. Gopinatha Rao in the Travancore Archaeological Series.

9. *Jewish Copper Plate—Estampage of—*

The transliteration is appended.

10. *Akavoor Mana Copper Plate* (Vatteluthu—16th Century).
The script is as interesting as it is confusing.
 11. *Irinjalakkuda Temple inscription*—Estampage of Vatteluthu—Ca. 11th Century).
The inscription is interesting from the following stand points: —
 (1) The donor is Bhaskara Nampirānār Tiruvati.
 (2) The donees are four members of the *Maṇigrāmam* but bear distinctively Hindu names.
 12. *Irāṇikkulam inscription* (Ca. 9th Century Vatteluthu.)
The script is interesting.
 13. *Temple chronicles*.
The copy is in the hand of the late Maharaja of Cochin.
 14. *Koṇgan Paṭa* (Vatteluthu Grandha)
The script is perfect and of extraordinary interest. The text also is very interesting. The only one of its kind as yet discovered.
 15. *Tiruvanci; Kulam Temple—Grandha* (Vatteluthu—16th—17th Century)
The original with translation of relevant portions. Ola No. 8 makes reference to a King of Quilon (Jayasimha-
nād) who copper-plated the roof of the Temple sanctum.
 16. *Portrait Paintings*. By artists who come immediately after the Great Artist Ravi Varma.
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MYSORE STATE
University of Mysore
PHOTOGRAPHS.

Copper Plates.

1. A grant by the Mysore King Devaraja Odayar. (M. A. R. 1934, pl. XX)
2. Pombolal Plates of. Kumara Medakeri Nayak of Chitaldrug. (M. A. R. 1929, pl. XIII, 1)

Inscribed Metallic Objects.,

3. Tipu's gifts to the Lakshmi-kanta temple at Kalale, Nanjangud taluk. (M. A. R. 1934, pl. XVII, 2)
4. 'Progeny Lotus' at the Jaganmohan Palace, Mysore. (M. A. R. 1918, pl. X, 1)

Coins.

5. Coins of Vijayanagar, Sangama Dynasty. (M. A. R. 1932, pl. XXI)
6. Coins of Vijayanagar, Krishnaraya and Achyutaraya. (M. A. R. 1930, pl. XX, 1)
7. Coins of Vijayanagar, Sadasivaraya and his successors. (M. A. R. 1931, pl. XXI, 1)
8. Some Mysore coins, etc. (M. A. R. 1929, pl. IX)

Historical works and manuscripts.

9. Paradara Sodara Ramana Kathe. (M. A. R. 1929, pl. X)
10. Hyder Nama. (M. A. R. 1930, pl. XX)
11. Peixoto's Memoirs of Hyder Ali. (M. A. R. 1937, pl. XXIII)
12. Letter of Virarajendra Odayar, Raja of Coorg. (M. A. R. 1941, pl. XX A)

Paintings.

13. Painting at the Darya Daulat, Seringapatam. (M. A. R. 1935, pl. XX)
 - (a) Hyder and Tipu with their army.
 - (b) Battle of Pollilore.

- 14-20. Portrait paintings at the Jaganmohan Palace, Mysore. (M. A. R. 1938, pls. XXII to XXVIII)
21. Jambusavari Procession of His Highness Krishnaraja Wadiyar II at the Jaganmohan Palace, Mysore. (M. A. R. 1938, pl. XXIX)
22. Vamsavatarana Vaibhava of the Mysore King. (M. A. R. 1938, pl. XXXI)

Architecture and Sculpture.

23. Shaji's Tomb at Hodigere. (M. A. R. 1940, pl. XXI, 3 and 4)
24. Chikkadevaraja Odeyar, Paravasudeva Temple at Gundlupet. (
25. Image of Paravasudeva at the above mentioned temple. (M. A. R. 1934, pl. XV, 1)
26. Kanthirava Narasaraja Odeyar, Narasimha temple, Seringapatam. (M. A. R. 1935, pl. XXII, 1)
27. Fort Wall, Devanhalli. (M. A. R. 1935, pl. XI, 1)
28. Kempe Gowda of Magadi Fort, Bangalore. (M. A. R. 1948, pl. XX, 1)
29. Nagar, Sketch map and ruins. (M. A. R. 1936, pl. XVIII)
30. Nandi Hill, Nandi :
 (1) Tipu's Lodge;
 (2) Wellington's Nose. (M. A. R. 1932, pl. XVIII)
31. Daria Daulat, Seringapatam. (M. A. R. 1935, pl. I)
32. Daria Daulat, Seringapatam. (M. A. R. 1935, pl. XIX, 1)
33. Jumma Masjid, Seringapatam. (M. A. R. 1935, pl. XIX, 2)
34. Swinging Arch, Seringapatam. (M. A. R. 1937, pl. XX)
35. Krishnaraja Wadiyar III and his family. (M. A. R. 1940, pl. I)
36. Carved Wooden panel in Mysore showing Krishna raja Wadiyar III, etc. (M. A. R. 1919, pl. IX, 2)
37. Nanjundesvara temple, Nanjangud, Mahadvara. (M. A. R. 1940, pl. VI, 1)

PATNA STATE.

LIST OF EXHIBITS.

- I. Copper coins. ... 7 (seven)
 Obverse—Bull and Horseman.
 Reverse—Suritana Shree Atchina.
- II. Copper coins ... 8 (eight)
 Obverse—Bull and Horseman,
 Reverse—Shree Hamira.
- III. Copper coins ... 2 (two)
 Obverse—Chauhan ?
 Bull and Horseman.
 Reverse—Samanta.
- IV. Copper coins ... 3 (three)
 Obverse—Bull and Horseman.
 Reverse—Legend not deciphered. Some mediaeval
 dynasty of Northern India.
- V. Five gold coins out of the hoard found near the
 Harishankar Hill... 5 (five)
 Legend—
 Obverse—1. Lion, 2. Chakra, 3. Sankha and
 4. Snake.
 Reverse—1. Sri Rama
 Pat-na
 (Dates)
- VI. Photographs of the gold coins found near the Harishankar
 Hill ... 4 (four)
 Obverse—2.
 Reverse—2
 (sent separately by R. P.)
- VII. Photographs of gold coins found in Patna State 2 (two)
 Obverse—1
 Reverse—1

C. P. Research Society, Nagpur.

II. HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS.

1. Abhaya-patra (letter promising security) issued by Bhonsla Raghoji I to the Brahmins of Mehkar (Berar) who asked for relief from molestation by the military. Language Marathi; script Modi. Date, 21st March 1738.
2. Ājnāpatra (order) by Bhonsla Janoji I making the grant of a village to a pious and learned Brahmin, named Harbhat Chānde. Language Marathi; script Modi. Date, 28 November 1759.
3. An order issued by Rayaji Bhonsla (the chief of the branch of the Bhonslas ruling in Berar) addressed to the pargannah and village officers, bestowing one percent. of the revenue of each village upon a Brahmin named Harbhat Chānde. Language Marathi; Script Modi. Date, 6 February 1759.
4. Abhaya-patra (letter promising security) issued by Daulatrao Sinda to a Brahmin named Bapubhat promising the continuation of the grant of village (Jāmgā) without any molestation. Language Marathi, script Modi. Date, 20 May 1794.

All these letters are in original bearing the imprints of the seals of the respective rulers.

5. A Chronicle (unpublished) of the Bhonslas of Nagpur, written in 1240 Fasli (1831 A. D.). Gives an account of the Bhonslas of Nagpur upto the Battle of Sitabuldi (27 November 1817). Contains many facts hitherto unknown and throws light on a few moot points.

II. COINS.

1. Copper coins, 8 in number, of the Haihay Dynasty, ruling in Mahakosala.
2. Silver coin of Aurangzeb. A rare specimen, issued from the mint of Maksudabad. Year 1116 A. H., Regnal year 46.

III. PORTRAITS.

1. Two portraits, painted on glass, of the Bhonsla kings of Nagpur.

KANNADA RESEARCH INSTITUTE, DHARWAR.

LIST OF EXHIBITS.

1. (a) 6 old palmleaf; and paper manuscripts bearing beautiful artistic designs and paintings.
(b) Two Historical manuscripts.
2. A unique set of steel pens used for incising writing in olden days, with its coir - case.
3. A historical chart containing the ruling dynasties of Karnatak, their territorial extents, their emblems, contemporary ruling powers etc.
4. *Two Marattha seals.*
5. Five Jaina bronzes (metal images of iconographical interest secured at Haduvalli (North Kanara Dist.)
 - (i) Nandīśvara—vara—dvīpa (unique).
 - (ii) Jaina Padmāvatī having Kukkuṭa-sarpa as her vehicle ($7'' \times 3\frac{1}{2}'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$).
 - (iii) Brahmadvīpa riding on horse back ($4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 4'' \times 2''$).
 - (iv) Ādinātha with a *prabhāvalī*, having 72 Tirthankara images. (unique) ($16'' \times 12\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5\frac{1}{4}''$).
 - (v) Bāhubali or Gommatēśvara ($10'' \times 3'' \times 3''$).
6. *Four Hindu images :—*
 - (i) Natarāja ($4\frac{1}{2}'' \times 3'' \times 2''$).
 - (ii) A peculiar Nāga armlet ($3'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$).
 - (iii) A copper image of ten headed Rāvaṇa (very rare).
 - (iv) Basava under Nāga canopy.
7. *Coins.*
 - (i) Yādava
 - (ii) Mohammadan (Haidar and Tipu).
 - (iii) Foreign coins.
 - (iv) Chatrapati.
8. *Impressions :—*Vadagaon Brahmi inscription belonging to 1st Century B. C.
9. *Photographs.*
 - (i) Ukhāpātra, an ancient sacrificial pot.
 - (ii) Srutaskandha.
 - (iii) Badami inscription dated Sanka 465.
10. *Early Iron—age antiquities* from the newly discovered archæological sites at Vadgaon and Herkal in Bombay Karnatak.

TRAVANCORE STATE

LIST OF EXHIBITS FROM THE HUZUR CENTRAL RECORDS, TRIVANDRUM.

A. Records showing the development of scripts.

S. No.	Year.		Script.	Summary.
	M. E.	A. D.		
1	610	1435	1. Malayalam	A private mortgage deed.
2	722	1547	Do.	Do.
3	874	1699	Do.	Accounts (Private).
4	903	1728	Do.	A promissary deed.
5	1033	1858	Do.	A petition to the Maharaja.
6	691	1516	2. Malayazhma	A hypothecation deed.
7	746	1571	Do.	A lease deed.
8	857	1682	Do.	Accounts (Private).
9	869	1694	Do.	Do.
10	892	1717	Do.	A titturam.
11	998	1823	Do.	A receipt.
12	865	1690	3. Tamil	A mortgage deed.
13	912	1737	Do.	A nittu.
14	1041	1866	Do.	A kāichittu.

B. Political (Treaties).

15	838	1663	Malayalam	Treaty between the Rajas of Cochin and Purakkād, and the Dutch Company.
16	929	1754	Tamil	Treaty between Travancore and Cochin.
17	929	1754	Do.	Treaty between Travancore and the Dutch East India Company.
18	937	1762	Do.	Treaty between Travancore and Cochin.
19	941	1766	Do.	Do.
20	964	1789	Do.	Purchase of the forts of Cranganore & Ayakkōtta from the Dutch East India Company.
21	980	1805	Do.	Treaty between Travancore and the English East India Company.

**LIST OF EXHIBITS FROM THE HUZUR CENTRAL RECORDS,
TRIVANDRUM**

C. Historical.

22	925	1750	Tamil	Dedication of the State to Sri Padmanabha by Mahārāja Mār-tāṇḍa Varma.
23	934	1759	Malayalam	Recapture of Cumbam.
24	939	1764	Tamil	Cession of Parūr to Travancore.
25	939	1764	Do.	Cession of lands west of Manjappāra to Travancore.
26	940	1765	Do.	Grant of Sāḍhanappattayam to Kuḍallūr Raja by Hyder Ali.
27	950	1775	Do.	Re : Royal Stable at Nagercoil.
28	954	1779	Do.	Arrangements for the study of the Dutch Language.
29	955	1780	Do.	Purchase by Travancore of 2,000 guns.
30	962	1787	Do.	Purchase of the lands north of Kayamkulam from the Dutch East India Company.
31	965	1790	Do.	A Letter of Maharaja Kartika Tirunal to Dewan Kesava Pillai re : the repair of Cranganore Fort etc.
32	965	1790	Malayalam	Re : the custody of prisoners of war taken from Tippu's camp.
33	966	1791	Tamil	A letter from the Raja of Cochin re : sundry things including the siege of Bangalore by Lord Cornwallis etc.

LIST OF EXHIBITS FROM THE HUZUR CENTRAL RECORDS,
TRIVANDRUM—(contd).

D. Commission of appointment as Dewans.

34	974	1799	Malayalam	To Jayantan Sankaran Namputiri.
35	980	1811	Do.	To Tampi Iravi (Ummi Tampi).
36	989	1814	Do.	To Devan Padmanabhan
37	992	1817	Do.	To Venkita Rao.
38	997	1822	Do.	To Gundo Pandita Venkita Rao.

E. Social.

39	906	1731	Tamil	Punishment for non-observance of State mourning in Cochin.
40	926	1751	Malayalam	Reward for loyalty and heroism.
41	991	1816	Do.	Adoption-fee.
42	993	1818	Do.	Re State interference against an attempt at committing Sutee at Quilon on the ground that Travancore did not countenance such a practice.
43	995	1820	Do.	Abolition of poll-tax imposed on certain communities.
44	995	1820	Do.	Adiyara by a Nair for social precedence.

F. General.

45	995	1820	Malayalam	A letter of condolence of Rani Parvati Bayi on the death of George III.
46	992	1817	Do.	Starting of public schools by Government.
47	993	1818	Do.	Manufacture of gun-

LIST OF EXHIBITS FROM THE HUZUR CENTRAL RECORDS,
TRIVANDRUM—(contd.)

48	993	1818	Do.	Grant of Rs. 21,200 to the C. M. S. College, Kottayam.
49	993	1818	Do.	Formation of a Committee for compiling Text Books.
50	993	1818	Do.	Grant for the teaching of Sastras.

G. Records bearing Sign Manuals.

51	912	1737	Tamil Martanda Varma, the Great.	A grant to Sri Padmanabha Swami Temple.
52	936	1761	Malaya- Rama lam Varma, (Dharma Raja)	Re: expenses for Murajapam at Ambalapuzha.
53	976	1801	Do. Balarama Varma, Avittam Tirunal.	Re: Suddhi ceremony at Ambalapuzha.
54	993	1818	Do. Rani Gauri Parvathi Bayi.	Re: Revenue Settlement.
55	1006	1831	Do. Kama Varma, Svati Tirunal.	Allowances to State Forces.
56	1027	1852	Malaya- Martanda lam Varma, Utram Tirunal.	Appointment of Dr. Allan Brown in the observatory.
57	1036	1861	Do. Rama Varma, Ayilyam Tirunal.	Construction of the A. M. V. Canal. (Ananta Martanda Victoria Canal).
58	1055	1880	Do. Rama Varma, Visakhram Tirunal.	Offerings to Sri Padmanabha Swami Temple.
59	1061	1886	Do. Rama Varma, Sri Mulam Tirunal.	Water-sheds for cattle.

LIST OF EXHIBITS FROM THE HUZUR CENTRAL RECORDS,
TRIVANDRUM—(contd.)

H. Records bearing autographs of Dewans.

60	964	1789	Tamil Raja Kesava Das.	Sending of an elephant to Trivandrum.
61	979	1804	Do. Velu Tampi.	Re: the repair of carts for the use of the Commer- cial Office, Alleppey, etc.
62	985	1810	Do. Ummini Tampi.	Re: custody of certain prisoners.
63	993	1818	Do. Reddi Rao.	Re: certain offerings in a temple.
64	1003	1828	Do. Venkata Rao.	Re: Custody some of prisoners.
65	1015	1840	Do. Subba Rao.	Purchase of a musical in- strument.
66	1021	1846	Do. Srinivasa Rao.	Repairing of a bridge.
67	1024	1849	Do. Krishna Rao.	Presentation of an ele- phant to a temple.
68	1036	1861	Do. Sir T. Madava Rao.	Additional building to the English School at Tri- vandrum.
69	1037	1862	Do. Sir A. Seshayya Sastri.	Re: certain payments to courts from the trea- sury.

I. Records relating to State ceremonies.

70	557	1382	Tamil	History of the Flag-staff in the Sri Padmanabha Swami temple.
71	927	1752	Do.	Special offerings of pray- ers etc. in connection with the war with Calicut.
72	984	1809	Malayalam	First rice-feeding of Ayil- yam Tirunāl Rukmani

LIST OF EXHIBITS FROM THE HUZUR CENTRAL RECORDS
TRIVANDRUM—(contd.)

73	947	1772	Malayalam.	Tirumādampu of Makam Tirunāl (Prince.)
74	981	1806	Do.	Paḷḷickettu at Attingal.
75	988	1813	Do.	Paḷḷickettu at Trivan- drum.
76	776	1601	Do.	Tulāpurushadānam.
	to	to		
	1025	1850	Do.	Hiranyagarbham.
77	1009	1834		

J. Specimens of Land Revenue Records.

78	913	1738	Malayazhma.	Ozhuku.
79	926	1751	Tamil.	Do.
80	949	1774	Do.	Do.
81	977	1802	Do.	Do.
82	993	1818	Do.	Do.
83	1012	1837	Do.	Do.
84	977	1802	Do.	Vilangippēr.
85	977	1802	Do.	Do.
86	993	1818	Do.	Do.
87	977	1802	Do.	Ayacut
88	995	1820	Do.	Pattola.
89	1022	1847	Do.	Pativu chitttu.
90	1038	1863	Do.	Thandapēr.
91	1009	1833	Malayazhma.	Arthappattuchittu (Stamped cadjan.)

K. Paper Records.

92	1004	1829	Malayalam.	Surrenderings of sover- eignty to Mahārāja Svati Tirunal by Rani Gauri Parvati Bayi.
93	1022	1847	Do.	Assumption of sover- eignty by Maharaja Utram Tirunāl.
94	1036	1861	Do.	Assumption of sover- eignty by Mahārāja Āyilyam Tirunāl.

LIST OF EXHIBITS FROM THE HUZUR CENTRAL RECORDS,
TELVANDRUM — (contd.)

95	1055	1880	Do.	Assumption of sovereignty by Maharaja Visakham Tirunāl.
96	1061	1886	Do.	Assumption of sovereignty by Maharaja Sri Mūlam Tirunāl.
97	986	1811	Do.	A royal letter re: the expenses for pūjas etc. in temples.
98	989	1814	Do.	A letter from the Rājā of Cochin.
99	987	1812	Do.	First Section Book.
100	1037	1862	Do.	First Government Gazette. (Travancore.)
101	1024	1849	Do.	Malayalam Almanac.

Records showing the Growth of Administrative Departments.

Land Revenue.

102. Details of tenures, etc., recognised in the land settlement of 912 M. E./1737 A. D.
103. Appointment of the Sarvādhikaryakkar, 935 M. E./1760 A. D.
104. Details re: pulli-vilakkam and ayacut of 946 M. E./1771 A. D.
105. An Ayacut record of 948 M. E./1773 A. D.
106. Details re: the ayacut of 948 M. E./1773 A. D.
107. A chattavariyōla relating to the settlement of 977 M. E./1802 A. D.
108. A nīttu re: the settlement of 993 M. E./1818 A. D.
109. A nīttu re: the settlement of 1012 M. E./1837 A. D.
110. Proclamation of 1040 M. E./1865 A. D. giving proprietary rights over lands to the tenants, who were till then only tenants-at-will of the Sircar.

- 111 Regulation No. III of 1058 M. E./1883 A. D. re: the scientific survey and settlement of the whole State.
- 112 Proclamation of 1061 M. E./1886 A. D. re: settlement.
- 113 Separation of Land Revenue and Devaswom Departments 1098 M. E./1923 A. D.

Financial.

- 114 A tirattu of the time of Mahārāja Mārtānda Varma, 923 M. E./1748 A. D.
- 115 An order of 937 M. E./1762 A. D. to submit the accounts of the Muḷaku-maṭiśśīla (pepper treasury).
- 116 Reserve fund of the muḷaku-maṭiśśīla at Padmanābhapuram 936/1761 ; 944/1769 and 949 M. E./1774 A. D.
- 117 Extracts of the tirattus of 948 to 965 M. E./1773 to 1790 A. D.
- 118 A tirattu of 985 M. E./1810 A. D. showing the total revenue and expenditure of the State, containing details concerning the system of keeping revenue accounts.
- 119 Constitution of a committee to reform the Jamabandi Department in 987 M. E./1812 A. D.
- 120 A specimen ēratavu (ledger) of 988 M. E./1813 A. D. containing the names and values of coins received in the treasury.
- 121 A nittu of 992 M. E./1817 A. D. to retrench the State expenses.
- 122 A nittu re: reform of the account system, 997 M. E./1822 A. D.
- 123 A nittu of 1000 M. E./1825 A. D. showing the total revenue of the State as forty lakhs of rupees.
- 124 A Sādhanaṁ of 1080 M. E./1905 A. D. re: the reform of accounts.

General Administration.

- 125 A nittu of 993 M. E./1818 A. D. re: the method of collecting revenues.
- 126 A nittu of 998 M. E./1823 A. D. re: qualifications for Government appointments.
- 127 A nittu of 1010 M. E./1835 A. D. for the better administration of the State.
- 128 A nittu re: the reform of the Huzur Cutcherry, 1015 M. E./1840 A. D.

Legislature.

- 129 Regulation No. II of 1063 M. E./1888 A. D. constituting the Legislative Council.
- 130 Regulation No. V of 1073 M. E./1898 A. D. reforming the Legislative Council.

Education.

- 131 A nīttu of 994 M. E./1819 A. D. re: the establishment of a school at Chengannūr.
- 132 A nīttu of 992 M. E./1817 A. D. re: the starting of public schools.
- 133 A nīttu of 994 M. E./1819 A. D. re: free education to certain students.
- 134 A nīttu of 1009 M. E./1834 A. D. re: the starting of the first English school by Government at Trivandrum.
- 135 A nīttu of 1012 M. E./1837 A. D. re: the compilation of a Malayalam Grammar.
- 136 A nīttu re: the compilation of a Malayalam-English Dictionary, 1020 M. E./1845 A. D.
- 137 A nīttu of 1035 M. E./1860 A. D. sanctioning the utilisation of the tobacco revenue for educational purposes.
- 138 A Jamabandi order re: the starting of the Law course 1040 M. E./1865 A. D.
- 139 A Jamabandi order of 1040 M. E./1865 A. D. re: the establishment of the Mahārāja's College.
- 140 A nīttu of 1041 M. E./1866 A. D. sanctioning the utilisation of the Salt revenue for educational purposes.
- 141 A Jamabandi order re: the establishment of the Law College, 1050 M. E./1875 A. D.
- 142 A Jamabandi order re: the establishment of the Sanskrit College, 1064 M. E./1889 A. D.
- 143 Regulation No. IV of 1067 M. E./1892 A. D. re: the establishment of the Reformatory School.
- 144 Regulation 1113 M. E./1937 A. D. re: the establishment of the Travancore University.

Medical.

- 145 A nīttu re: the appointment of an allopathic physician 994 M. E./1819 A. D.
- 146 A nīttu of 992 M. E./1817 A. D. re: vaccination.

- 147 A nīṭṭu of 994 M. E./1819 A. D. re: maintaining a register of deaths.
- 148 A nīṭṭu re: the establishment of grant-in-aid hospitals at Kottayam and Nagercoil, 1014 M. E./1839.
- 149 A nīṭṭu of 1038 M. E./1863 A. D. re: the Sircar hospital at Trivandrum.

Public Works.

- 150 A nīṭṭu re: the appointment of an Engineer, 1011 M. E./1836 A. D.
- 151 A nīṭṭu re: expenditure for public works, 1013 M. E./1838 A. D.
- 152 Records re: the construction of the Varkalai tunnels, Kōtayar dam, Parvati Puttanār, Shenkotta-Trivandrum Railway, etc.

Forest.

- 153 A nīṭṭu re: contracts for timber trade, 961 M. E./1786 A. D.
- 154 Separation of forest administration from the Sanchāyam, 1012 M. E./1837 A. D.
- 155 Regulation No. II of 1068 M. E./1893 A. D. re: forests.

Registration.

- 156 A nīṭṭu re: the introduction of stamped cadjans for writing documents, 992 M. E./1817 A. D.
- 157 A nīṭṭu re: the appointment of Nēduvezhuttupillamār, 993 M. E./1818 A. D.
- 158 A nīṭṭu regulating the registration of documents, 1024 M. E./1849 A. D.
- 159 Regulation No. I of 1042 M. E./1867 A. D.

Anchal.

- 160 A nīṭṭu re: the reform of the Anchāl system, 998 M. E./1823 A. D.
- 161 A Jamabandi order of 1024 M. E./1849 A. D. throwing open anchāl service to the use of the public.
- 162 Anchāl Regulation No. I of 1064 M. E./1889 A. D.

Jails.

- 163 A nīṭṭu of 984 M. E./1809 A. D. re: the jail at Udayāgiri.
- 164 A Jamabandi order re: the establishment of the Central Jail, 1062 M. E./1887 A. D.
- 165 Regulation No. I of 1071 M. E./1895 A. D. re: jails.

Observatory.

- 166 A nittu of 1013 M. E./1838 A. D. re: the establishment of the Observatory at Trivandrum.
- 167 A jamabandy order of 1032 M. E./1857 A. D. re: the establishment of the Observatory at Agastyakūṭam.

Agriculture.

- 168 A nittu of 933 M. E./1758 A. D. re: improvement of minor irrigation works.
- 169 A nittu of 936 M. E./1761 A. D. agricultural loans.
- 170 A nittu re: the construction of irrigation works, 1000 M. E./1825 A. D.
- 171 A notification re: coffee cultivation, 1013 M. E./1838 A. D.
- 172 Regulation No. IV of 1066 M. E./1891 A. D. (Agricultural loans.)
- 173 Regulation No. III of 1072 M. E./1897 A. D. (Irrigation.)

Trade.

- 174 A nittu re: the appointment of an officer to supervise Excise administration, 994 M. E./1819 A. D.
- 175 A nittu re: the appointment of an officer to supervise commerce, 975 M. E./1800 A. D.
- 176 A nittu of 991 M. E./1816 A. D. re: fixing duties on articles exported and imported.
- 177 A nittu sanctioning the introduction of duty on water transport, 993 M. E./1818 A. D.
- 178 A nittu re: the salt depot at Alleppey, 995 M. E./1820 A. D.
- 179 A notification for affording convenience to ships arriving at Alleppey and other ports, 996 M. E./1821 A. D.

Police.

- 180 A nittu of 993 M. E./1818 A. D. re: the appointment of Kottuvāls.
- 181 A nittu re: the inauguration of the Town Police establishment, 1019 M. E./1844 A. D.
- 182 A Nittu re: Extra Police, 1020 M. E./1845 A. D.

M. Miscellaneous.

- 183 A nittu of 933 M. E./1758 A. D. making reference to the pepper treaty with the English Factory at Anjengo.
- 184 Extracts from the tirattus re: the levying of special taxes in 965 M. E./1790 A. D. for meeting the expenses in connection with Tippu's wars.

- 185 A nṭṭu re : the grant of a large extent of land at Kallada, known as Munro Island, to the Church Mission Society, Kottayam, 994 M. E./1819 A. D.
- 186 Nṭṭus of 993, 994 and 1000 M. E./1818, 1819 and 1825 A. D. re : grant to churches.
- 187 A nṭṭu re : financial aid to the famine-stricken people of Ireland, 998 M. E./1823 A. D.
- 188 A nṭṭu re : financial aid to the weavers of England affected by the American war, 1038 M. E./1863 A. D.
- 189 A Jamabandi order of 1049 M. E./1874 A. D. re : financial aid to the famine-stricken people of Bengal.

N. Records of the Port Office, Alleppey.

- 190 Accounts of expenses in the Commercial Department, Alleppey, in Chingam, 987 M. E./1812 A. D.
- 191 A Sadhanam from the Commercial Office, Alleppey, submitted to the Dewan re : the arrival of three ships belonging to the Sultan of Arabia, 1000 M. E./1825 A. D.
- 192 Account of the construction of a snake-boat for sending as a present to England, 1026 M. E./1851 A. D.

O. Devaswom records.

- 193 Offering of a lamp and pujas at the temple of Tiruvattār by Iravi Udaya Martanda Varma, 599 M. E./1424 A. D.
- 194 Offering of kāṇikka in the temple of Thiruvattār by Maharaja Martanda Varma before leaving to encounter the Dutch fleet, 916 M. E./1741 A. D.

P. Utsavamatham records.

- 195 A list of presents given on the occasion of the wedding of Princess Ayilyam Tirunal, 977 M. E./1802 A. D.

Q. Other exhibits.

- 196 A map of Travancore prepared by Lt. Ward and Conner, 1818 A. D.
- 197 A copper box (for keeping cadjan-records), style, churika etc.
- 198 Samples of churunas.
- 199 Historical pictures. Surrender of the Dutch at Colachel, etc.
- 200 Aurangazeb's Koran.
- 201 Fayzee's Mahabharata in Persian.
- 202 Story of Krishna in Gurmukhi.

LIST OF EXHIBITS FROM THE SRI PADMANABHASWAMI TEMPLE TRIVANDRUM.

- 1 Offering of money to the temple of Sri Padmanabha Swami by the Ettarayogam on the occasion of the Vishu festival, 479 M. E.
- 2 The construction of the Mukhamandapa in the Sri Padmanabha Swami temple with a single piece of granite stone in 636 M. E.
- 3 Performance of Uttamāgrapūja in the Sri Prdmanabha Swami temple under the command of Vira Rama Martanda Varma on the 6th Chingam 645 M. E.
- 4 Installation of lights around the temple by Iravi Iravi Varma on 26th Mithunam 662 M. E.
- 5 Sailing of Rama Varma in a country-craft dated 10th Dhanu 677 M. E. (from Trivandrum to South Travancore.)
- 6 A nittu of Ravi Varma to "Amma" (Umayamma Rani) re: the appointment of the Pushpanjaliswamiyar, 852 M. E.
- 7 Assumption of sovereignty by Ravi Varma on the 4th Makaram 860 M. E.
- 8 A variyola re: the duties of the Kariyakkar and other subordinates of the Trivandrum Mandpatumvatukkal 918 M. E.
- 9 Supply of rice and condiments to Kunchan Nampiyar, the great poet of Kerala, 919 M. E.
- 10 Re: an interview of the Commander of the Anjengo Fort, with the Maharaja at Kanjapuram, 925 M. E.
- 11 Assumption of the title of Kulasekharapperumal by Maharaja Martanda Varma, 926 M. E.
- 12 Re: the exports and imports from Valiyatura, 927 M. E.
- 13 A ninavu re: the war at Ambalapuzha, 929 M. E.
- 14 Rules regulating Anchal service between various places in the State, 930 M. E. (Details of distances between places and the time required to cover the same are given.)
- 15 Accounts of expenses for soldiers sent to Calicut, 936 M. E.
- 16 Accounts re: expenses for soldiers sent to Calicut, 937 M. E. (Details re: the supply of weapons are also given).
- 17 The visit of the Zamorin of Calicut and a prince of Cochin to Trivandrum, 938 M. E.
- 18 A nittu, containing Sign Manual re: the construction of Vattakkotta, 953 M. E.

- 19 Re : the construction of Vattakkotta, 953 M. E.
- 20 Construction of the Gopuram and Kulasekhara-mandapam in the Sri Padmanabha Swami temple, 953 M. E.
- 21 Expenses for draft elephants engaged at Pecchippara in connection with the construction of a dam (Kodayar dam), 959 M. E.
- 22 Re : the taking of Tippu's flag as trophy, 965 M. E.
- 23 A communication containing Dewan Kesava Das's signature.
- 24 A communication from Ramayyan, Dalava to a Kariyakkar re : Palakkottu Potti's identity, bearing the signature of the Dalava.
- 25 Supply of copper under the orders of Dalava Ramayyan for minting coin at Padmanabhapuram.
- 26 Re : the capture of Tippu's flag.
- 27 A letter to an officer of the Matilakam, (Sri Padmanabha temple.) bearing the signature of Velu Tampi Dalava.
- 28 Granthavaries Nos. I and II.

EXHIBITS FROM THE TRAVANCORE UNIVERSITY MSS. LIBRARY.

Manuscripts of Historical Importance.

1. Godavarmayaśobhūṣaṇam.
 2. Balarāmavarmayaśobhūṣaṇam.
 3. Rāmavarmarājacaritam.
 4. Rāmavarmavijayācampu.
 5. Āryamañjuśrīmūlakalpa.
 6. Historical records on Zamorin Family.
 7. Pāṭirimārute Samudāyacaritam (Social History of Christian Priests.)
 8. Some old Cadjan Records.
-

Rare Sanskrit Manuscripts.

9. Hārīta Dharma Śāstram.
 10. Avantisundarī by Dandin.
-

Manuscripts of notable antiquity.

11. Daivāgamam Bhāṣa.
 12. Sāmaveda (ūhagāna)
 13. "
 14. Tārkikaraksākhya Śārasaṅgraha.
 15. Mukundavijaya.
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Rao Bahadur S. T. Srinivasa Gopalachari
Advocate, Madras.

Tanjore Raja's papers—Four volumes.

A Dutch tobacco Box, and miscellaneous articles.

THE BARODA STATE

List of Exhibits.

The State Record Department.

FARMANS.

- (1) Farman of Emperor Jahangir issued in 1618-19 A. D. bestowing on a lady named Kulsum 510 bighas of land of Savad in Baroda Taluka. (It bears Emperor's Seal and a tugra.)
- (2) Copy of Farman of Shahajahan Badshaha bestowing on one Saiyad 30 bighas of land of Savad in Baroda Taluka. (It bears Emperor's Seal and tugra).
Dated 7-6-1651.

LETTERS.

- (1) Letter from Peshwa Madhavrao II to Fattesinh Gaikwad informing him the glad news of the accession of Shahu II on the throne. Dated 17-12-1778.
- (2) Letter from Nana Fadnis to Sayajirao Gaikwad I inviting him to attend the wedding of Peshwa Madhavrao II. Dated 13-12-1782. (The last two words are in Nana's own hand).
- (3) Travelling facilities to Mehta Sada Shankar Munshi going from Ujjain to Ahmedabad for the marriage of Mehta Rajeshwar Shankar Munshi. (It bears the Seal of Mahadji). Dated 13-6-1791.
- (4) Letter from Tukojirao Holkar to Manajirao protesting against Sevaram's invasion of Dongarpur State as being against the usual practice and requesting him (Manajirao) to arrange to return the bonds or cash taken by Sevaram from the Dongarpur Chieftain. (It bears the Seal of Tukojirao Holkar). Dated 16-7-1791.
- (5) Letter from Nilkantha Baburao Amatya to Govindrao Gaikwad acknowledging receipt of Makara Sankrant present. (It bears the Amatya's Seal.). Dated 4-3-1795.
- (6) Formal letter from Parsharam Shainivas Pratinidhi to Govindrao Gaikwad accompanying Makar Sankrant Til Gul. (It bears the Seal of the Pant Pratinidhi). Dated 7-3-1797.

- (7) Kharita from Hon. East India Company to His Highness Maharaja Anandrao Gaikwad presenting him with a gold Seal and brace of Pistols in appreciation of his friendship. (Mark the floral broder). (Original and its true copy). Dated 4-5-1802.
- (8) Passports for persons. Obverse side. The reverse side contains a Marathi translation of the English contents on the obverse. Dated 5-12-1821.
- (9) Passports for persons. The reverse side contains a Marathi translation of the English contents on the obverse. Dated 5-12-1821.
- (10) Pass ports. for property issued by the Resident at Baroda to the Maharaja of Baroda. Dated 28-2-1822.
- (11) News paper cuttings. 1823 A. D.
- (12) A monster petition to Maharaja Sayajirao II Gaikwad from noblemen, merchants and other gentry of Baroda beseeching him to dissuade Veniram Adityaram Himat-Bahaddar from his intention of leaving the ministership of the State and going on pilgramage. The petition contains nearly 400 signatures. Dated 4-11-1836.
- (13) News paper cuttings. 1867-1870 A. D.
- (14) Handwriting of Late Highness the Maharaja Sayajirao III of Baroda.

PRIVATE COLLECTIONS.

- (15) From Sir V. T. Krishnamachari
The Book "Rasmala" (original.)

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT, BARODA STATE.

BARODA.

EXHIBITS.

I. Epigraphy.

- (1) Mankani Copperplate grant of Taralasvamin in 595 A. D. (Photo).
- (2) Ganadevi Inspection of Shashtha II. 1042 A. D. (Impression).
- (3) Brahmanavada Grant of Mularaja II, in 1175 A. D. (2 photos).
- (4) Sanghpur Inscription (fragmentary) 13th Century A. D. (Impression).
- (5) The Khavkhadi Inscription dated 1340 A. D. (Impression).
- (6) The Dasaj Mosque marble Inscription dated 1480 A. D. (Impression).
- (7) The Gumda Musjid Inscription dated 1541 A. D. (Impression).
- (8) The Kadi Fort Stone Inscription dated 1609 A. D. (Impression).
- (9) The Baroda Mandvi gate Stone Inscription dated 1736 A. D. (Photo).

II. Drawing.

- (1) Plan showing Sahasralinga Reservoir Excavations at Patan. (N. Gujrat).

III. Photographs of Monuments etc.

- (1) One Album containing 49 photographs.
- (2) to (9) Eight loose photographs.
- (10) to (13) 4 Printed Plates from important Jaina Vijnaptipatras or letters of solicitation.

THE ORIENTAL INSTITUTE, BARODA STATE BARODA.

List of Exhibits.

- (1) Telugu Mahabharata.
- (2) History of Ukeshaguchha Family.
- (3) Navanagara-Tilakawada, Nandapadra Tilakapura
Bipakana Tilakawada Sam. 1455, 1456, 1457.
- (4) Visalanagara Sam. 1570.
- (5) Atala, Sam. 1577.
- (6) Vriddhanagara, Sam. 1634.
- (7) Molhe aduragacala, Sam. 1742.

Indian Historical Records Commission

NINETEENTH SESSION

1942

LIST OF EXHIBITS

Supplement

TRAVANCORE STATE—GOLD COINS

PART I—GENERAL

ROMAN COINS.

- 1 Augustus.
- 2 Augustus.
- 3 Tiberius.
- 4 Tiberius (Variant.)
- 5 Nero Drusus.
- 6 Nero.
- 7 Nero.
- 8 Nero.
- 9 Nero.
- 10 Claudius.
- 11 Vespasian.
- 12 Vespasian.
- 13 Titus.
- 14 L. Domitian.
- 15 Domitian.
- 16 Trajan.
- 17 Hadrian.
- 18 Hadrian.
- 19 Hadrian.

- 20 Antonius Pius.
- 21 Faustina.
- 22 Marcus Aurelius.
- 23 Marcus Aurelius.
- 24 Lucius Vers.
- 25 Marfeanus.
- 26 Constantius II.
- 27 Magnantius.
- 28 Valens.
- 29 Valentianus II.
- 30 Theodosius.
- 31 Theodosius
- 32 Theodosius.
- 33 Arcadius.
- 34 Honorius.
- 35 Zeno.
- 36 Anhastasius.
- 37 Gratianus.
- 38 Severus III.

VENETIAN SEQUINS FOUND IN INDIA.

- 1 Franc Erizzo.
- 2 Franc Molino.
- 3 Carol Cant.
- 4 Domin Canta.
- 5 M. Ant Justin.
- 6 Silv Valerio.
- 7 Carol Ruzini.
- 8 Pet Grimani.
- 9 Franc Lavred.
- 10 Mocen.
- 11 Alot Moceni.
- 12 Paul Rainer.
- 13 Ludo Manin.
- 14 Ludov Manin. (Variant)
- 15 Joan Cornel. (not listed.)
- 16 M. Rosa Renna

K U S H A N.

1	Kanishka.		"Nanapao"
2	Kanishka.		"Okpo"
3	Kanishka.		"M A O"
4	Kanishka.		"ORPO"
5	Kanishka.		$\frac{1}{4}$ stater.
6	Huvishka.		"Apaoxpa"
7	Huvishka.	with	"Manaobago"
8	Huvishka.		"Nanapao" (Greek Type)
9	Huvishka.	with	"MI PO"
10	Huvishka.	with	"MIPPO"
11	Huvishka.	with	"PAPPO"
12	Huvishka.		$\frac{1}{4}$ stater.
13	Vasudeva.		Ox-ride "Orpa"
14	Vasudeva.		Ox-ride "Orpa"
15	Vasudeva.		$\frac{1}{4}$ stater.
16	Vasu.		
17	Vasu.		
18	Krita-Virya.		Kedara-Kushan.
19	Krita-Virya.		Kedara-Kushan.
20	Krita-Virya.		Kedara-Kushan.
21	Krita-Virya.		Kedara-Kushan.
22	Kushano-Sassanian.		"Orpo"

G U P T A .

1	Samudragupta	Standard Type	
2	Samudragupta	Standard Type.	
3	Samudragupta	Standard Type.	
4	Samudragupta	Archer Type.	
5	Samudragupta	Licheveyah Type (Marriage of Chandragupta and Kumaradevi).	
		Lion to Rt.	
6	Samudragupta	Licheveyah Type.	Lion to Lt.
7	Samudragupta	Licheveyah Type.	Lion to Rt.
8	Samudragupta	Licheveyah Type.	Lion to Rt.

9	Samudragupta	Battle-axe type. (with boy)
10	Samudragupta	Kaca Type.
11	Samudragupta	Lyrist Type.
12	Samudragupta	Aswameda Type.
13	Chandragupta II	Archer Type.
14	Chandragupta II	Archer Type.
15	Chandragupta II	Archer Type.
16	Chandragupta II	Archer Type.
17	Chandragupta II	Chatra Type.
18	Chandragupta II	Lion-slayer Type.
19	Chandragupta II	Lion-slayer Type.
20	Kumaragupta I	Archer Type.
21	Kumaragupta I	Horseman Type. Horse to Rt.
22	Kumaragupta I	Horseman Type. Do.
23	Kumaragupta I	Horseman Type. Do.
24	Kumaragupta I	Horseman Type. Horse to Lt.
25	Kumaragupta I	Horseman Type. Do.
26	Kumaragupta I	Horseman Type. Do.
27	Kumaragupta I	Lion-slayer Type.
28	Kumaragupta I	Tiger-slayer Type. (Queen feeding peacock)
29	Kumaragupta I	Peacock ride.
30	Skandagupta	King and Lakshmi Type.
31	Pura Gupta	Archer Type.
32	Prakasaditya	Horseman Type.
33	Prakasaditya	Horseman Type.
34	Narasimhagupta	Archer Type.
35	Jaya Gupta	Archer Type.
36	Gupta (?) (Unidentified)	Gajalakshmi Type.

EARLY ANONYMOUS.

- 1 S. I. Spherules or "Swarna"
- 2 S. I. Spherules or "Swarna"
- 3 S. I. Spherules or "Swarna" $\frac{1}{2}$ Size.
- 4 Bijapur or 'Lingayat' Pagoda.
- 5 Bijapur or 'Lingayat' Pagoda. $\frac{1}{2}$ Pagoda.
- 6 S. I. Pagoda.
- 7 S. I. $\frac{1}{2}$ Pagoda.

PALLAVA.

- 1 Fanam.
- 2 Tanka "Katachitra" (Mahendra Varman)
- 3 Tanka Do.
- 4 Tanka Do.
- 5 Tanka Do.

W. CHALUKYA.

- 1 "Sri Jagadekamalla".
- 2 "Sri Tri Lo (Ka) malla".
- 3 "Sri Jaya.sri (mha) deva".
- 4 (i) Boar to Rt. (ii) Ornamental Scroll.

E. CHALUKYA.

- 1 Cup shaped Coin.
- 2 Fanam.
- 3 Fanam.
- 4 Fanam.
- 5 Fanam.

RASHTRAKUTA.

- 1 "Sri Prasanna Matra".
- 2 "Sri Prasanna Matra".
- 3 "Sri Prasanna Matra".
- 4 "Sri Prasanna Matra".
- 5 "Gajja" or "Gajga" or "Goyi", Govinda IV.
- 6 "Gajja" or "Gajga" or "Goyi" Govinda IV.
- 7 "Gajja" or "Gajga" or "Goyi" Govinda IV.
- 8 "Gajja" or "Gajga" or "Goyi" Govinda IV.
- 9 "Gajja" or "Gajga" or "Goyi" Govinda IV.

VISHNU KUNDIN.

- 1 Fanam. (i) Lion to left with forepaw raised.
(ii) Blank.

KALACHURI.

- 1 "Ro(ya) Gaja Kesa(ri)" (Tel-Kan)
with boar or elephant in centre.
- 2 "Ro(ya) Gaja Kesa(ri)".

KAKATYA.

- 1 Tanka "Disa Patta" (Tel.)
- 2 Tanka "Disa Patta" (Variant.)
- 3 Fanam (i) Bull to Lt.
(ii) Dagger (?)
- 4 Fanam (i) Bull to Rt. with tail up.
(ii) Plain.

EARLY CHOLA.

- 1 Fanam (i) Lion.
(ii) "La" (Tel.)
- 2 Fanam. (i) Lion.
(ii) "La" (Tel.)
- 3 Fanam (i) Lion.
(ii) "Ma" (Tel.)

TELUGU CHOLAS.

- 1 "Bujaveera" (Tam-granth).
- 2 "Bujaveera" "
- 3 "Bujaveera" "
- 4 "Bujaveera" "
- 5 "Bujavi" "
- 6 "Bujava" "
- 7 "Bujava" "
- 8 "Bujaviran" "
- 9 "Bujaba(la)" (Tel.)
- 10 "Yana" (Tel-Kannada) Narayana (?)
- 11 Legend not read.

CUDDAPPAH CHOLA.

- | | | |
|---|-------|--------------|
| 1 | Fanam | 3 Specimens. |
| 2 | Fanam | 3 Specimens. |

CHOLA.

- | | | |
|----|-------------------|--|
| 1 | Kulottunga I | Fanam. |
| 2 | Raja-Raja | Inferior gold. |
| 3 | Raja-Raja | Var. 1 Inferior gold. |
| 4 | Raja-Raja | Var. 2 (Gold washed or inferior gold.) |
| 5 | Raja-Raja | Var. 3 (Very little gold.) |
| 6 | Sri Rajendra | Inferior gold. |
| 7 | Sri Rajendra | Var. 1 Inferior gold. |
| 8 | Sri Raja Rajendra | Do. |
| 9 | Gangaikonda | Do. |
| 10 | Gangaikonda | Var. 1 Do. |
| 11 | Uthama | Do. |
| 12 | Uthama | Var. 1 Do. |
| 13 | Uthama | Var. 2 Do. |

PANDYA.

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|----------|
| 1 | "Sundara" Pandya | Fanam. |
| 2 | "Sri Pandya Dhananjaya" | (Kan.) |
| 3 | "Sri Pandya Dhananjaya" | Variant. |
| 4 | Kanarese legend. | |

HOYSALA.

- | | | |
|---|--|-----------------------------|
| 1 | (a) Chamundi on Lion to Rt. | |
| | (b) (Kan) "Sri No
nam ba va di
go ndah". | |
| 2 | (a) Chamundi on Lion to Rt. | (b) "Sri Nonambavadigondah" |
| 3 | (a) Chamundi on Lion to Rt. | (b) "Sri Nonambavadigondah" |
| 4 | (a) Chamundi on Lion to Rt. | (b) "Sri Nonambavadigondah" |
| 5 | (a) Chamundi on Lion to Rt. | (b) "Sri Nonambavadigondah" |

- (a) Chamundi on Lion to Rt. (b) "Sri Nonambavadigondah"
 (a) Chamundi on Lion to Rt. (b) "Sri Pratapa Narasingha"
 (a) Chamundi on Lion to Rt. (b) "Sri Pratapa Narasingha"
 (a) Chamundi on Lion to Rt. (b) "Sri Pratapa Narasingha"
 (a) Chamundi on Lion to Rt. (b) "Sri Pratapa Narasingha"

G A N G A.

- 1 Fanam. 3 specimens.
- 2 Fanam.
- 3 Fanam.
- 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ Fanam.
- 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ Fanam.
- 6 Kalinga Nagara Fanam. 12 sp.
- 7 Kalinga Nagara Fanam. 11 sp.
- 8 Kalinga Nagara Fanam. 11 sp.

K A D A M B A.

- 1 Pagoda.
- 2 Pagoda.
- 3 Pagoda.
- 4 Fanam.
- 5 Fanam.

S I N H A L E S E.

- 1 Kahavenu or Lankeswara. — "Sri Lanka Vibhu"
- 2 Kahavenu or Lankeswara. "
- 3 Kahavenu or Lankeswara. "
- 4 Kahavenu or Lankeswara. "
- 5 Kahavenu or Lankeswara. "
- 6 Kahavenu or Lankeswara. "
- 7 Kahavenu or Lankeswara. "
- 8 "Eka" or "Pala" "Lakshmi"
- 9 "Eka" or "Pala" — with ring
- 10 "Eka" or "Pala"

- 11 "Eka" or "Pala"
- 12 "Eka" or "Pala"
- 13 "Iraka" or "Thamraki" or "Nandaki"
- 14 "Irake" or "Nandaki"
- 15 "Irake" or "Nandake"
- 16 "Irake" or "Nandake" 2 sp.
- 17 "Irake" or "Nandake"
- 18 "Vijaya Bahu" (inferior gold)
- 19 "Sri Dharmasoka Deva" Do.

Y A D H A V A.

- 1 Padma Tanka. "Singana" II
- 2 Padma Tanka. "Singana" II
- 3 Padma Tanka. "Singana" II
- 4 Padma Tanka. "Singana" II
- 5 Padma Tanka. "Seegana"
- 6 Padma Tanka. "Seegana"
- 7 Padma Tanka. "Seegana"
- 8 Padma Tanka? "Singha"
- 9 Padma Tanka (Krishna) "Kanhara"
- 10 Padma Tanka. "Kanhara"
- 11 Padma Tanka. "Kanhara"
- 12 Padma Tanka. "Sri Rama"
- 13 Padma Tanka. "Sri Rama"
- 14 Padma Tanka.
- 15 Fanam.
- 16 Fanam.
- 17 Fanam.
- 18 Fanam.
- 19 Fanam.
- 20 Fanam.
- 21 Fanam.

G A J A P A T H I.

- 1 Elephant Pagoda.
- 2 Elephant Pagoda.
- 3 Elephant Pagoda.
- 4 Elephant Pagoda.

5	Elephant	Pagoda.	3 sp.—all diff. from Colombo Museum.
6	Elephant	Pagoda.	
7	Elephant	Pagoda.	
8	Elephant	Pagoda.	
9	Elephant.	Fanam.	7 specimens.
10	Elephant.	Fanam.	
11	Elephant.	Fanam.	

H A I H A Y A.

- 1 Prithivi Deva.
- 2 Prithivi Deva.
- 3 Prithivi Deva.
- 4 Prithivi Deva.
- 5 Jajulla Deva.
- 6 Jajulla Deva.
- 7 Ratna Deva.
- 8 Ratna Deva.

WESTERN CHEDI OR HINDU KINGS OF
BUNDELKAND.

- 1 Gangaya Deva.
- 2 Gangaya Deva.
- 3 Govinda Chandra.

K A N O U J.

- 1 Govinda Chandra Deva.

K U T C H B H U J.

- 1 (i) "Raja Sri Desa Raja".
- (ii) "Bahadur Shah".

KASHMIR.

(Base gold)

- 1 Durlabha.
- 2 Vighraha.
- 3 Pratapaditya II.
- 4 Pratapaditya II.
- 5 Pratapaditya II.
- 6 Vinayaditya.
- 7 Vinayaditya.
- 8 Vinayaditya.
- 9 Vinayaditya.

KASHMIR.

- 1 Lalitaditya Muktapida. (Electron)
- 2 Lalitaditya Muktapida.
- 3 Lalitaditya Muktapida.

RAMA TANKA. (Cup shaped).

1. Double (i) Coronation of Sri Rama.
(ii) "SRI ESWARAYA NAMAH"
- 2 Double Another and better specimen.
- 3 Double Another specimen, slightly different.
- 4 Double Another specimen, distinctly different.
- 5 Double Another specimen, somewhat different.
- 6 Double Another specimen, large in diameter.
- 7 Double Different Type. (not catalogued) *Very Rare.*
- 8 Single Gibbs Pl. VI Fig. 3
- 9 Single Do. (slightly smaller and showing Kanarese letters on convex surface.)
- 10 Single Gibbs Pl. VI Fig. 3 Variety.
- 11 Single Gibbs Pl. VI Fig. 3
- 12 Single Gibbs Pl. VI Fig. 3
- 13 Single Different Type.
- 14 Single Gibbs Pl. VI Fig. 5 (Inferior gold)
- 15 Single Gibbs Pl. VI Fig. 5 Pale gold.

- 16 Single Gibbs Pl. VI Fig. 5
- 17 Single Gibbs Pl. VI Fig. 5 (Different type)
- 18 Single Gibbs Pl. VI Fig. 5 Pale gold.
- 19 Single Gibbs Pl. VI Fig. 6 (To Left)
- 20 Single Gibbs Pl. VI Fig. 1 (To Right) Big size.
- 21 Half New Type. Not listed.

SITA RAMI (Flat).

- 1 Peacock to Left. Hexagonal.
- 2 Elephant to Rt. Round.

VIJAYANAGAR.

HARIHARA I.

- 1 Pagoda.
- 2 Pagoda.
- 3 Pagoda.
- 4 Pagoda.

BUKKA RAYA.

- 5 Pagoda.
- 6 Pagoda.

HARIHARA II.

- 7 Pagoda.
- 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pagoda.
- 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pagoda.
- 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ Pagoda.
- 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pagoda.
- 12 Fanam.

DEVARAYA I.

- 13 Pagoda.

DEVARAYA II.

- 14 Pagoda.
- 15 $\frac{1}{2}$ Pagoda.

DEVARAYA II.

- 16 ॥ Pagoda.
- 17 ॥ Pagoda.
- 18 ॥ Pagoda.
- 19 ॥ Pagoda.
- 20 ॥ Pagoda.
- 21 ॥ Pagoda.
- 22 ॥ Pagoda.
- 23 ¼ (?) Pagoda.
- 24 ¼ Pagoda.
- 25 ¼ Pagoda.

PRATAPA KRISHNA RAYA.

- 26 Pagoda.
- 27 Pagoda.
- 28 Pagoda.
- 29 Pagoda.
- 30 Pagoda.
- 31 Pagoda.
- 32 Pagoda.
- 33 Pagoda.
- 34 Pagoda.
- 35 Pagoda.
- 36 ॥ Pagoda.
- 37 ॥ Pagoda.
- 38 ॥ Pagoda.
- 39 ॥ Pagoda.
- 40 ॥ Pagoda.
- 41 ॥ Pagoda.
- 42 ॥ Pagoda.
- 43 ॥ Pagoda.
- 44 ॥ Pagoda.
- 45 ॥ Pagoda.
- 46 ॥ Pagoda.
- 47 ॥ Pagoda.
- 48 ॥ Pagoda.
- 49 ॥ Pagoda.
- 50 ॥ Pagoda.
- 51 ॥ Pagoda.

ACHYUTA RAYA.

- 52 Pagoda.
- 53 Pagoda.
- 54 Pagoda.
- 55 ½ Pagoda.
- 56 ½ Pagoda.
- 57 ½ Pagoda.
- 58 ½ Pagoda.
- 59 ½ Pagoda.

SADASIVA RAYA.

- 60 Pagoda.
- 61 Pagoda.
- 62 Pagoda.
- 63 Pagoda.
- 64 Pagoda.
- 65 ½ Pagoda.
- 66 ½ Pagoda.

TIRUMALA RAYA.

- 67 Pagoda.
- 68 Pagoda.
- 69 ½ Pagoda.
- 70 ½ Pagoda.
- 71 ½ Pagoda.

RAMA RAYA.

- 72 Pagoda.
- 73 Pagoda.
- 74 Pagoda.
- 75 ½ Pagoda.
- 76 ½ Pagoda.

VENKATA I.

- 77 Pagoda.
- 78 Pagoda.
- 79 Pagoda.
- 80 ½ Pagoda.
- 81 ½ Pagoda.
- 82 Fanam.

- 83 Pagoda.
- 84 ½ Pagoda.
- 85 ½ Pagoda.
- 86 ½ Pagoda.

RANGA RAYA.

- 87 Pagoda.
- 88 Pagoda.
- 89 Pagoda.
- 90 Pagoda.
- 91 Pagoda.
- 92 Pagoda.
- 93 Pagoda.
- 94 Pagoda.
- 95 ½ Pagoda.
- 96 ½ Pagoda.

IKKERI SADASIVA.

- 97 Pagoda.
- 98 Pagoda.
- 99 Pagoda.
- 100 Fanam.
- 101 Fanam—3 Sp.

MARATHA OR RAMA RAJA FANAMS.

... 14 Varieties.
... 58 Sp.

VIRARAYA FANAMS.

(Palaya Fanams or Old Panams.)

... 7 Varieties.
... 13 Sp.

PUTHIA FANAMS OR NEW FANAMS.

(Issued by the Zamorin of Calicut.)

... 49 Varieties.
... 220 Sp.

MISCELLANEOUS SOUTH INDIAN FANAMS.

- 1 Standing figure with lamp ... 8 Varieties.
- 2 Namam ... { 7 Varieties.
- 3 Garuda ... { 14 Sp.
- ... 2 Sp.

4	Tamil	1 Sp.
5	Telugu	5 Varieties
6	Divers	4 Varieties
7	Reddy	2 Sp.
8	Quarter	4 Sp.
9	Polygars of Kodygonda or "Subbaraya" Fanams	6 Varieties
10	Venkata or Chandragiri	1 Sp.
11	Uncertain Nagari Legend	6 Varieties
12	Unidentified Fanams	11 Sp.
13	Fanams (Doubtful)	4 Sp.
14	Unidentified (Sivaji?)	1 Sp.

TRAVANCORE.

1	Anantaraya	Fanam.	
2	Anantaraya	Fanam.	
3	Anantaraya	Fanam.	
4	Anantaraya	Fanam.	(very small.
5	"T"	Fanam.	6 Sp.
6	Lakshmi Varahan (?)	Fanam.	
7	Thulabaram	Size I	
8	Thulabaram	Size II	
9	Thulabaram	Size III	
10	Thulabaram	Size III	(Variant
11	Thulabaram	Size IV	
12	Varaha	R. V. 1877	
13	"Visagam Tirunal"	$\frac{1}{2}$ Sovereign.	
14	"Visagam Tirunal"	Sovereign.	

JAIPUR.

1 Mohur.

NEPAL.

1 Mohur.

2 $\frac{1}{2}$ Mohur

3 $\frac{1}{2}$ Mohur.

(Variant

MISCELLANEOUS.

- | | | |
|---|---------|-----------------------------|
| 1 | Assam | Octagonal—"Gaurinath Sinha" |
| 2 | Assam | 1/16 Mohur |
| 3 | Burmese | Small coin. |

EUROPEAN.

E. E. I. Co.

- | | | |
|----|--|---------------------------------|
| 1 | Star Pagoda. | |
| 2 | Star Pagoda. | |
| 3 | Pagoda. | |
| 4 | Single Star Pagoda. | |
| 5 | Double Star Pagoda. | |
| 6 | "Devnapatnam" Pagoda. | |
| 7 | "Feringhee" or "Scott" or "Porto Novo" Pagoda. | |
| 8 | Silver Pagoda. | |
| 9 | Brass Pagoda. | |
| 10 | Copper Pagoda. | 2 sp. |
| 11 | 3 Swami Pagoda. | —Granulated back. |
| 12 | 1 Swami Pagoda. | |
| 13 | 1 Swami Pagoda (?) $\frac{1}{2}$ Pagoda. | |
| 14 | "Nabob" or Mahomed Ali Pagoda. | |
| 15 | "Nabob" or Mahomed Ali Pagoda. | Variant. |
| 16 | Mohur. | Murshidabad. |
| 17 | Mohur. | Murshidabad. |
| 18 | $\frac{1}{2}$ Mohur. | Murshidabad. |
| 19 | $\frac{1}{4}$ Mohur. | Murshidabad. |
| 20 | $\frac{1}{8}$ Mohur. | Murshidabad. |
| 21 | $\frac{1}{16}$ Mohur. | Shah Alam. |
| 22 | Mohur Arcot. | |
| 23 | Half Mohur. | Arcot. |
| 24 | Quarter Mohur. | Arcot. |
| 25 | Mohur. | William IV—Lion and Palm tree. |
| 26 | Double Mohur. | Lion and Palm tree. |
| 27 | Mohur. | Queen 1841. Lion and Palm tree. |
| 28 | Mohur. | Queen 1841. Clearer legend. |
| 29 | Mohur (Rupée) | Queen 1862. |
| 30 | Mohur. | Madras. E. E. I. Co. |
| 31 | Mohur $\frac{1}{2}$. | Madras. E. E. I. Co. |

32	$\frac{1}{3}$ Mohur.	Madras.	E. E. I. Co.
33	$\frac{1}{3}$ Mohur.	Madras.	E. E. I. Co. "Fast" erro
34	$\frac{1}{2}$ Mohur.	"Five Rupees"	
35	Pagoda.	Peacock	or "Mayura Varahan"
36	Mohur.	1870	Queen.
37	"10 Rs."	1870	Queen.
38	"5 Rs."	1870	Queen.
39	"15 Rs."	1918	George V.
40	Surat Mohur	With Crown	Shah Alam II.
41	Surat Mohur	With Crown	Shah Alam II.
42	Surat Mohur	Without Crown	Shah Alam II.
43	Surat $\frac{1}{2}$ Mohur.	With Crown	Shah Alam II.
44	Surat $\frac{1}{2}$ Mohur	With Crown	Shah Alam II.
45	Surat $\frac{1}{2}$ Mohur	Without Crown	Shah Alam II.

INDO-FRENCH.

1	Pagoda	Single Swami.
2	Pagoda	Three Swamis.

INDO-PORTUGUESE

1	Full Mohur	or 12 Xerafins.
2	Full Mohur	or 12 Xerafins.
3	Full Mohur	or 12 Xerafins.
4	$\frac{1}{3}$ Mohur	or 4 Xerafins.
5	$\frac{1}{6}$ Mohur	or 2 Xerafins.
6	Full Mohur	or 12 Xerafins.
7	Full Mohur	or 12 Xerafins.
8	Full Mohur	or 12 Xerafins.

INDO-DANISH.

1	Pagoda	Christian VII.
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BRITISH.

1	Half Sovereign	George III	1817	Shield.
2	Sovereign	George III	1820	Horse.
3	Sovereign	George IV	1821	Horse.
4	Sovereign	George IV	1825	Horse.
5	Sovereign	George IV	1828	Shield.

6	Double Sovereign	Victoria	1887	Horse.
7	Double Sovereign	Victoria	1893	Horse.
8	Half Sovereign	Victoria	1880	Shield.
9	Half Sovereign	Victoria	1890	Shield.
10	Half Sovereign	Victoria	1893	Shield.
11	Half Sovereign	Victoria	1890	Horse.
12	Sovereign	Victoria	1878	Shield.
13	Sovereign	Victoria	1880	Horse.
14	Sovereign	Victoria	1888	Horse.
15	Sovereign	Victoria	1900	Horse.
16	Double Sovereign	Edward VII	1902	Horse.
17	Sovereign	Edward VII	1904	Horse.
18	Sovereign	Edward VII	1906	Horse.
19	Sovereign	Edward VII	1910	Horse.
20	Half Sovereign	Edward VII	1905	Horse.
21	Half Sovereign	Edward VII	1906	Horse.
22	Half Sovereign	Edward VII	1908	Horse.
23	Half Sovereign	Edward VII	1909	Horse.
24	Double Sovereign	George V	1911	
25	Half Sovereign	George V	1918	
26	Five Pounds	Victoria	1887	
27	Five Pounds	Victoria	1893	
28	Five Pounds	Edward VII	1902	
29	Five Pounds	George V	1911	

DUTCH.

1	Double Ducat of Campen	—1656
2	Single Ducat	—1800
3	Single Ducat	—1801
4	Single Ducat	—1802
5	Single Ducat	—1803
6	Single Ducat	—1805

AUSTRIAN.

1	4 Ducats of Emperor Francis Joseph	1873
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KRUGER.

1	Pond	1893
2	$\frac{1}{2}$ Pond	1893

RUSSIAN.

1 Rouble.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1 "Lakshmi Kasu".

S. INDIAN TANKAS.

1 Ornamental work.

2 "Sri" (Tel.) "Athi" (Tam.)—"Athi Varma" ?

3 Do. Do.

4 "Jaya" (Tam.)

5 "Kanda" (archaic Tamil) with Krishna, as Muralidhara.

6 Do. Do. Variant.

7 Do. Do. Do.

8 Do. Do. Do.

9 Do. Do. Do.

PART II—MAHOMEDAN.

SULTANS OF DELHI.

1 X Ghiyas-ad-din Balban.

2 XII Jalal-ad-din Firoz II.

3 XIV Ala-ad-din Muhammad Shah I.

4 XIV Ala-ad-din Muhammad Shah I Var.

5 XVI Kutb-ad-din Mubarak Shah I.

6 XVIII Ghiyas-ad-din Taghlak Shah I.

7 XIX Muhammad II Ibn Taghlak.

8 XIX Muhammad II Ibn Taghlak. Var.

9 XIX Muhammad II Ibn Taghlak.

10 XIX Muhammad II Ibn Taghlak.

11 XIX Muhammad II Ibn Taghlak (Struck in the name
of the Kalifs of Baghdad, -ii-Al-Hakim.)

12 XIX Muhammad II Ibn Taghlak. (Different.)

- | | | |
|----|------|--|
| 13 | XIX | Muhammad Shah—Ibn Muhammad Ibn Taghlak. (Pretender.) |
| 14 | XX | Firoz Shah III. |
| 15 | XXXV | Sher Shah. |
| 16 | | Ghiyasuddin. |

'HUMAYÜN.

- 1 Small and thin.**

AKBAR.

- | | | | |
|---|----------------------|--------|------|
| 1 | Agra | 982 | |
| 2 | Agra | 973 | |
| 3 | Ahmedabad | 982 | |
| 4 | Akbarabad | 977 | |
| 5 | Fatehpur | 989-21 | |
| 6 | Jaunpur | 965 | |
| 7 | Lahore 'Ilahi | 47 | Tir. |
| 8 | Urduzaferquarin Alef | 1000 | |
| 9 | Urduzaferquarin Alef | 987 | |

JEHANGIR.

Zodiacals.

- | | | | |
|---|------|---------|--------------|
| 1 | Agra | 1031-16 | Capricorn. |
| 2 | Agra | 1029-15 | Gemini. |
| 3 | Agra | 1032-17 | Sagittarius. |
| 4 | Agra | 1030-16 | Taurus Rt. |
| 5 | Agra | 1028 14 | Taurus Lt. |

Early imitation Zodiacals.

- | | | | |
|---|------|------|----------|
| 6 | Agra | 1030 | Aquarius |
| 7 | Agra | 1028 | Cancer. |
| 8 | Agra | 1030 | Scorpio. |
| 9 | Agra | 1030 | Virgo. |

SHAH JEHAN.

- | | | |
|---|-----------|----------|
| 1 | Ahmedabad | 1045—9. |
| 2 | Akbarabad | 1046—10. |
| 3 | Akbarabad | 1051—21. |
| 4 | Akbarabad | 1055—18. |

5	Burhampur	1062—25.	
6	Daulatabad	1068—32.	
7	Shahjehanabad	1069.	
8	Surat	xxxx—3.	
	(Ilahi Asfandarmas)		
9	Surat	1112 x 1—(?)	
10	Patna	1045—9.	
11	No Mint.	No emperor.	Fanam. 1066.

AURANGAZEB.

1.	Akbarabad	1078—10.	
2	Akbarabad	1086—18.	
3	Jehangirnagar	1110—43.	
4	Aurangabad	1086—19.	
5	Bijapur	1111—44.	
6	Burhampur	xxxx—11.	
7	Kambayat	xxxx—10.	
8	Golkonda	1098—31.	
9	Etawa	1115—47.	
10	Khujistabunyad	1117—49.	
11	Lahore	1110—42.	
12	Multan	1074—6.	
13	Shahjehanabad	1086—18.	
14	Sholapur	1085—18.	
15	Surat	1113—45.	

SHAH ALUM I.

1	Akbarabad	xxxx—1.	
2	Burhampur	1120 (?)	
3	Kabul	1121—2.	
4	Khujistabunyad	1124—5.	
5	Mahamedabad	1121—3.	
6	Shahjehanabad	1119—1.	
7	No Mint.	Fanam. 1118.	

J. A H A N D E R S H A H.

1	Akbarabad	112 (4)—
2	Burhampur	—one
3	Khujistabunyad	1124—1
4	Shahjehanabad	1124—1.

F A R U K H S I Y A R.

1	Akbarabad	1130—7.
2	Burhampur	1131—7.
3	‡ Pagoda	1128—5.
4	Etawa	1125—1.
5	(Imtyaz)garh (Fanam.)	
6	Khujistabunyad	1127—3.
7	Lahore (?)	1130—7.
8	Majili (?).....(?)	Fanam.
9	Murshidabad	1131—8.
10	Shahjehanabad	1126—3.
• 11	Shahjehanabad	1128—4.
12	Shahjehanabad	Not clear.
13	Pagoda	No year.
14	No Mint. Fanam.	xxxx—7.

R A F I U D - D A U L A H (Shahjehan II).

1	Shahjehanabad	1121—1.
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M U H A M M A D S H A H.

1	Akbarabad	1153—22.
2	Pagoda	1151—20.
3	‡ Pagoda	1141—x.
4	‡ Pagoda	1141—x.
5	Pagoda	No year.
6	Pagoda	xxxx—3.
7	Islamabad	1152—22.
8	Etawa	1145—15.
9	Karpa. Fanam	No year.
10	Khujistabunyad	11xx—17.

11	Khujistabunyah	114 x—12.
12	Lahore	11 xx—2.
13	Machilipatan	1144—13.
14	Muhammadabad-Benares	xxxx—20.
15	Muazzamabad	1139—9.
16	Multan	1157—27.
17	Sawai Jaipur	115x—28.
18	Shahjehanabad	1152—22.
19	Surat	11xx—13.
20	No Mint.	xxxx—18.
21	No Mint.	Fanam. 27th year.
22	No Mint.	Fanam. No year.

AHMED SHAH.

1	Multan	1163—3.
2	Shahjehanabad	1161—1.

ALAMGIR II.

1	Akbarabad	1170—4.
2	Islamabad	1169—3.
3	Shahjehanabad	1169—2.
4	Shahjehanabad	1170—4.
5	No Mint	Fanam 116x—x.

SHAH JEHAN III.

1	Mahindrapur	xxxx—1.
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SHAH ALAM II. (*Shah Gowher*).

1	Ahmednagar	Farukhabad	1178—5.
2	Benares	Mahomedabad	1205—32.
3	Karpa	Fanam	No year.
4	Karpa	Fanam	No year.
5	Sawai Jaipur		xxxx—6.
6	No Mint	$\frac{1}{8}$ Pagoda	xxxx—15.
7	No Mint	$\frac{1}{4}$ Pagoda	4th year.
8	No Mint	Fanam	1192.

9	No Mint	Fanam	1180.
10	No Mint	Fanam	No year.
11	No Mint.	Fanam	xxxx—7

M U H A M M A D A K B A R II.

1	Shahjehanabad	xxxx—7.
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D U R A I N I.

1	Ahmed Shah	Shahjehanabad	1170—11.
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K A L I P H E. (*Abbas-ed Kalifs of Baghdad.*)

1	Sultan Zia-ud-din	(Large)
2	Sultan Ala-ud-din	(?) (Small.)

S U L T A N S O F O U D H.

1	Mahomed Ali	Lucknau	1200—3.
2	Gaziuddin Haider Ali	Lucknau	1236—2.
3	Amjad Ali	Lucknau	1262—5.

N A W A B S O F B E N G A L.

1	Abul Muzaffar
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P E R S I A N.

1	Tahmasp-I	970	Mint Yazd.
2	Fet-h-Ali Shah	1249	„ Kazvin.
3	Muhammad Shah	1251	„ Mesh-hed.
4	Muhammad Shah	1253	„ Mesh-hed.
5	Muhammad Shah	1258	„ Shiraz.
6	Muhammad Shah	1262	„ Resht.
7	Nazir-ed-din	1265	„ Tabriz.
8	Nazir-ed-din	1265	„ Tabriz.
9	Nazir-ed-din	1266	„ Mesh-hed.
10	Nazir-ed-din	1266	„ Khoi.

11	Nasir-ed-din	1268	„	Kazvin.
12	Nasir-ed-din	1269	„	Kazvin.
13	Nasir-ed-din	1270	„	Kazvin.
14	Nasir-ed-din	1271	„	Tabriz.
15	Nasir-ed-din	1272	„	Mesh-hed
16	Nasir-ed-din	1273	„	Teheran.
17	Nasir-ed-din	1278	„	Mesh-hed
18	Nadir-ul-Sultan	1151	„	Isphani.

TURKISTAN.

1	Azim-Massoni-Bahadu-Bur	Bokhara	1245—6.
2	Azim-Massoni-Badhu-Bur	Bokhara	1253—4.
3	Azim-Massoni-Badhu-Bur	Bokhara	1257—8.
4	Azim-Massoni-Badhu-Bar	Bokhara	1267—8.

MYSORE.

1	Haider	Pagoda	Bahaduri	
2	Haider	Pagoda	“Gooty”	1194
		Mahomed Shahi		
3	Haider	Fanam	5 sp.	
4	Tippu	{ Mohur	Patan	1198—1.
		Ahmadi		
5	Tippu	{ Mohur	(Heavy weight)	
		Ahmadi		
6	Tippu	{ Mohur	Patan	1217—7
		Sadiki		
7	Tippu	{ Mohur	Patan	1219—9
		Sadiki		
8	Tippu	{ Pagoda	No Mint	1197—7
		Sultani		
9	Tippu	Do.	No Mint	1198—1
10	Tippu	Do.	No Mint	1198—2
11	Tippu	Do.	Nagar	1198—2
12	Tippu	Do.	Nagar	1199—3
13	Tippu	Do.	Nagar	1200—4
14	Tippu	Do.	Patan	1212—11
15	Tippu	Do.	Patan	1215—5
16	Tippu	Do.	Patan	1215—5
17	Tippu	Do.	Nagar	1215—5

18	Tippu	{ Pagoda Sultani.	Nagar	1216—6
19	Tippu	Do.	Dharwar	1216—6
20	Tippu	Do.	Hursheed	1217—7
21	Tippu	Do.	Sawad	1218—8
22	Tippu	Do.	Patan	1217—7
23	Tippu	Do.	Patan	1217—7
24	Tippu	Do.	Patan	1218—8
25	Tippu	Do.	Patan	1219—9
26	Tippu	Do.	Patan	1220—10
27	Tippu	Do.	Patan	1220—10
28	Tippu	Do.	Patan	1221—11
29	Tippu	Do.	Patan	1221—11
30	Tippu	Do.	Patan	1221—11
31	Tippu	Fanam	Patan	1197
32	Tippu	Fanam 2 sp.	Nagar	1198
33	Tippu	Fanam	Calicut	1199
34	Tippu	Fanam 2 sp.	Patan	1200
35	Tippu	Fanam 2 sp.	Calicut	1200
36	Tippu	Fanam	Nagar	1200
37	Tippu	Fanam	Ferok	1211
38	Tippu	Fanam	Ferok	1214
39	Tippu	Fanam 2 sp.	Patan	1215
40	Tippu	Fanam 3 sp.	Calicut	1215
41	Tippu	Fanam	Nagar	1216
42	Tippu	Fanam 2 sp.	Patan	1216
43	Tippu	Fanam 3 sp.	Ferok	1216
44	Tippu	Fanam 4 sp.	Patan	1217
45	Tippu	Fanam	Nagar	712 (Err.)
46	Tippu	Fanam 4 sp.	Ferok	1217
47	Tippu	Fanam	Kaliwabad (In copper imitation.)	1217
48	Tippu	Fanam 2 sp.	Patan	1218
49	Tippu	Fanam 2 sp.	Ferok	1218
50	Tippu	Fanam 2 sp.	Patan	1219
51	Tippu	Fanam	Patan	1221
52	Tippu	Fanam 2 sp.	Calicut	1222
53	Tippu	Fanam	Patan	No year.

L A T E R M Y S O R E (Hindu)

54	Kantirava Narasaroya	‡ Pagoda.
55	Kantirava	‡ Pagoda Var.
56	Kantirava Lakshmi	Fanam.
57	Kantirava Narasimha	Fanam 5 sp. Large.
58	Kantirava or Narasimha	Fanam 4 sp. Small & Thick.
59	Chittaldrug	Pagoda.
60	Sri Chikka Deva Raya	Pagoda.
61	Sri Chikka Deva Raja	‡ Pagoda.
62	Sri Krishna Raja	Pagoda.
63	Sri Krishna Raja	Pagoda (Imitation of copper)
64	Sri Krishna Raja	‡ Pagoda.
65	Sri Krishna Raja	Fanam 5 sp.
66	Unassigned	‡ Pagoda (1) Elephant. (2) "Hussaini"

